

# THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR MARCH, 1820.

Art. I. *Life of Lord William Russell*; with some Account of the Times in which He lived. By Lord John Russell. In two Volumes. 8vo. Second Edition pp. xix. 557. London. 1820.

IT is not a little remarkable, that we should have now before us, just issued from the press, the lives of two individuals so illustrious, and so nearly contemporary with each other, as Oliver Cromwell and Lord William Russell, each written by a descendant, and the biographer, it may be added, in either instance, not unworthy of his ancestor. These volumes do not aspire to add much to the abundant historical information of which the public was already in possession, relative to the eventful times in which Lord William Russell lived and suffered; but that information is so widely scattered, and the last few years have brought to light so many documents of the utmost importance for illustrating the domestic history of the period, as to afford abundant scope for the present memoir, considered as an essay upon the times. The remark of Serjeant Heywood, cited in the Preface, is strictly just: 'The history of the reign of Charles II. has not yet been accurately written.' Every day is bringing to light, fresh proofs of Hume's literary delinquencies, as the historian of the house of Stuart. The 'depth of his thought,' the 'beauty of his style,' ill compensate for the false colouring which he has given to the facts he narrates, and his studied perversion of the great lessons furnished by that portion of our annals. We think, therefore, that no charge of presumption would lie against the feeblest pen that should undertake the faithful narration of the events which furnished Hume with a vehicle for his political and religious sentiments, on the ground of that historian's surpassing ability. We may not hope perhaps ever to see Hume's work superseded. The magic of its style, and we may add, the very defects of the writer, his inaccuracies and partiality, which render his authority so precious to those who partake of his hatred of the Whigs,

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will always secure for Hume's History a pre-eminent popularity. But for this very reason, the service which the biographer and the memoir-writer may render by their supplementary illustrations of history, is the more important and acceptable. It is by this means only, that a counter impression can be successfully produced. A formal refutation of the errors of an historian, must of necessity be dry, and desultory, and unimpressive. And often, when our judgement has been convinced by the perusal of such a work, the current of our prejudices and feelings still runs in the same direction as before. But let the reader's sympathy with the subject of the biographical memoir, place him, in relation to the events described by the historian, in an opposite direction, and let his respect or pity be successfully awakened for the men who belonged to the calumniated and depressed party, the misrepresentation will by this means be made palpable to the feelings, and the feelings will silently amend the bias given to the opinions. In this way, the Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson produced a strong and decidedly favourable impression upon the public mind, by leading persons to discriminate between the opposite characters of the individuals associated by the historian as belonging to the same party, under sweeping terms of obloquy or ridicule. Such biographers as Mrs. Hutchinson are too rare to allow of our hoping that any similar record will be brought to light. Yet a work has recently appeared, of scarcely inferior value, of which we hope speedily to give an account to our readers; the Memoirs of Evelyn, the author of the Sylva, and one of the most virtuous and truly patriotic men of his time.

But besides the light which such a work as the present is adapted to throw upon the history of the period, by bringing together the scattered details which clear up the true character of the events referred to, it is valuable as serving to bring out into greater prominence, the character of an individual of too rare excellence to deserve to be lost in the general crowd of historical names. Lord William Russell does not, indeed, appear to have been a man of very brilliant talents. In common times, the good son, the good husband, the upright senator, and the faithful friend, might have formed the whole description of his 'sober and unaffected' character; and history might have silently let fall the name of a man whose integrity was so much greater than his ambition. 'His understanding,' however, says Burnet, 'was not defective; but his virtues were so eminent that they would have more than balanced real defects, if any had been found in the other. He was a slow man, and of little discourse; but he had a true judgement, when he considered things at his own leisure.' He is farther described as 'a man of great candour, and of a general reputation, universally beloved and trusted; of a generous and obliging temper, and



one who 'had given such proofs of an undaunted courage, and of 'an unshaken firmness,' that 'I never knew,' says his reverend contemporary, 'any man have so entire credit in the nation as he had. He quickly got out of some of the disorders into which the court had drawn him; and ever after that, his life 'was unblemished in all respects.' The exhibition of such a character as this, must at any time be highly instructive. But more particularly, as the present Biographer justly remarks,

'in these times, when love of liberty is too generally supposed to be allied with rash innovation, impiety, and anarchy, it seems desirable to exhibit to the world, at full length, the portrait of a man who, heir to wealth and title, was foremost in defending the privileges of the people; who, when busily occupied in the affairs of public life, was revered in his own family as the best of husbands and of fathers; and who joined the truest sense of religion with the unqualified assertion of freedom.'

It is vain to expect that a political party will ever gain the confidence of the country, whose leaders do not command the homage universally conceded to private virtue. Talent may cope with talent, and while the public are amused with the conflict, they will almost forget to care which side is victorious. But character is a permanent argument that outlasts the recollection of those debates. A minister of splendid talents in the plenitude of power, may contrive, by calling corruption to his aid, to dispense with the influence derived from personal integrity; but not so the man who occupies the invidious station of a reformer. His influence wholly consists in his being the organ of public sentiment, the representative of the people, that is to say, the representative of fathers and husbands and brothers, who by those relations are bound to each other, to their homes, and to their country, as a people distinguished by their respect for the social ties. And the representative of Englishmen, in order to engage their confidence, must himself respect those social relations, and the religious principles which constitute their only basis and safeguard. In order to his retaining any hold upon the public mind, he must possess, if not virtue, a reputation for virtue. He must be able to exact from his political opponents, the respect which is paid to a man who meets them on the vantage ground of invulnerable character, and who can appeal to his life for the integrity of his motives. Is it too much to expect, that such an individual should rise up from the ranks of our old aristocracy, who, entitled by birth and by his stake in the country, to be the leader of the party with which he acts, should have public spirit enough to resign, as Lord Russell did, the peaceful enjoyments of domestic privacy for the conflicts of the senate, with no lower aims than the service of his country, and the promotion of the best interests of mankind?

Surely, such an individual, did he but join 'a true sense of religion,' to his love of that which is inseparably connected with the interests of religion,—civil freedom, would have a noble reward for his exertions, for which the highest bribes of ambition could offer no equivalent.

William Russell, who, on the death of his elder brother Francis, became Lord Russell, was the third son of William, the fifth earl of Bedford, and was born September 29, 1639. He received his education at Cambridge, after which he went abroad, and resided some time at Augsburg. He spent the winter of 1658 at Paris, and returned to England in the following year. Upon the Restoration, he was elected member for Tavistock, and appears to have mingled in the gaieties of the Court, being engaged, in the years 1663 and 1664, in two duels. 'It was not till 'after his marriage,' says his Biographer, 'that he applied himself with earnestness, both in meditation and action, to fulfil 'the duties of a Christian.' His marriage took place in 1669. Lady Russell was the daughter of Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, and widow of Lord Vaughan, the eldest son of Lord Carberry. To the influence of this inestimable woman, Lord John justly attributes, not only the happiness, but many of the most admirable qualities of her husband. During the first twelve years that he sat in the House, Lord Russell was a silent member.

\* And in all probability he would have continued through life an inactive representative, had not extraordinary events called forth the energy of his character, never afterwards to sleep but on the scaffold.'

It was about the year 1672, that the great party was formed in the House of Commons, to which Lord Russell joined himself, for the purpose of counteracting the dangers arising from a secret French alliance and a Popish successor. The Duke of York had recently declared himself of the communion of the Church of Rome; an army, raised without authority of Parliament, having in it many Popish officers, and commanded by a foreigner, was encamped at Blackheath, to over-awe, as was supposed, the proceedings of the House\*; a war was begun, the object of which was the destruction of the only Protestant power in Europe, from which the friends of civil and religious freedom could expect support; and the penal laws against Dissenters and Popish recusants, had recently been suspended by an *Indulgence*, issued in defiance of the acts of Parliament, in order to protect Papists in the exercise of their religion and

\* Feb. 14th, 1670, the King went to the House of Parliament, attended by his new guards, it being 'the first instance in history,' says Lord John, 'of the sovereign's entering upon his legislative 'functions under the protection of the sword.'



in the enjoyment of public offices. The Test Act was the offspring of the jealousy awakened by these demonstrations of the designs of the Court. The Protestant Dissenters, with more generosity and public spirit than discretion, desired that their interests might oppose no obstacle to the passing of that Bill, which promised to secure the nation against Popish ascendancy. All ranks of the nation were alarmed for their liberties; and never was a party formed for a nobler object, or apparently with more patriotic views. We transcribe the sensible remarks which are introduced in vindication of such a scheme of opposition.

‘ There are persons who think the name of Party implies blame; who, whilst they consider it natural and laudable that men should combine, for any other object of business or pleasure, and whilst they are lavish in bestowing their confidence on government, which must in its nature be a party, find something immoral and pernicious in every union of those who join together to save their country from unnecessary burdens or illegal oppression. To such persons Lord Russell’s conduct must appear indefensible.

‘ But to all those who allow that party may sometimes be useful, and opposition often even necessary, I may safely appeal for the justification of his conduct. To overthrow a scheme so formed as that of Charles and James, it was not sufficient to give honest, but unconnected votes in the House of Commons. It was necessary to oppose public discussion to secret intrigue, and persevering union to interested combination: it was necessary to overlook the indiscreet violence of partisans, to obtain the fruits of the zeal from which it sprung: it was necessary to sink every little difference in the great cause of the Protestant religion, and our ancient freedom: in fine, it was the duty of the lovers of their country to counteract system, by system, and numbers by numbers. It may likewise be remarked, that the manner in which this party opposed the crown, was characteristic of the nation to which they belonged. In any of the continental monarchies, a design on the part of the king to alter the religion and the laws of the kingdom would have been met either with passive submission, insurrection, or assassination. For in those countries, men who did not dare to speak the truth to their sovereign, were not afraid to take up arms against him. But in England the natural and constitutional method of resisting public measures hurtful to the liberty or welfare of the people, is by a parliamentary opposition. This was the only course which Lord Russell and his friends ever thought of adopting; and they did it under circumstances extremely discouraging, for they could expect little support in a parliament chosen in the heat of the Restoration, and still less assistance from a press restrained by the curb of a Licence Act.’ Vol. I. pp. 63, 64.

The individuals who made themselves most conspicuous amongst the country party, were, besides Lord Russell, Lord Cavendish, Sir W. Coventry, Col. Birch, Mr. Powle, and Mr. Littleton; all of them men of very considerable ability, and,

with the exception of Lord Cavendish, whom Burnet speaks of as a libertine, men of estimable character. Sir William Coventry is represented as 'the model of a country gentleman, open, honest, and sensible, not swayed either by ambition or animosity.' The historian above referred to, affirms that he had 'the greatest credit of any man in the House;' that 'he had a perfect understanding of affairs, and laid open the errors of the government with the more authority, because he mixed no passion nor private resentments with it.' Littleton, he emphatically characterises as 'a wise and worthy man, who had studied much modern history, and the present state and interest of Europe.' 'These,' adds the Bishop, after completing the enumeration, 'were the chief men that preserved the nation from a very deceitful and practising Court, and from a corrupt House of Commons. And by their skill and firmness, they, from a small number who began the opposition, grew at last to be the majority.'

Lord Russell made his first speech in Parliament on the 22d of January, 1674, soon after the opening of the session. In consequence of the previous proceedings of the Opposition, the country had been so far roused, that supplies had been refused by the House, and a cry of grievances resounded on all sides. The passing of the Test Act had been followed by the immediate removal of the Duke and Lord Clifford from the offices of Lord High Admiral and Lord High Treasurer. And now the House lost no time in proceeding to the redress of grievances, and the removal of evil counsellors. Lord Russell chiefly adverted in his speech, to the shutting of the Exchequer, and the attack on the Smyrna fleet in time of peace, as subjects of complaint. They were, in fact, two of the most base and unprincipled actions that ever disgraced an administration. He accused the ministers of receiving pensions from France, 'but declared that he wished not their ruin, but our security.' Charles now began to perceive that, notwithstanding his attempts to suppress the free utterance of the general sentiment, 'the opinions of a people so bold and generous as the English, could not fail to reach the ears of Government, however deaf, and to influence the decisions of the House of Commons, however subservient.'

'The Parliament refused supplies: the French King likewise declined to advance a million of livres extraordinary, for which Charles had asked: Spain threatened to declare war; and an overture from Holland deprived the King of any further pretence for hostility. Under these circumstances he yielded to necessity, and graciously asked the advice of the House of Commons upon the expediency of making peace. They voted an address immediately afterwards, requesting that all troops raised since January 1st, 1663, might be dis-



banded. With this desire the King complied; and as soon as the peace was concluded, he prorogued the Parliament.

‘ Thus, in the space of less than four years, the alliance with France was broken, and the troops by which Charles had hoped to make himself absolute, dispersed. The declaration for indulgence had been recalled, and a precedent against the dispensing power established, which in the next reign was to be a bulwark of liberty and religion. But what was still more important, perhaps, the ministers of the Crown were struck with a salutary dread, and the King had no longer a council to whom he could confide his pernicious machinations.’ Vol. I. pp. 72, 73.

Parliament was now prorogued for fourteen months, in pursuance of a secret engagement entered into by Charles with the French King. When it met in April, 1675, Lord Russell moved an address to remove Earl Danby from the King’s presence, on the ground of mismanagement at the Treasury, and other charges. The Earl got off by high bribing. In the next session, which took place in the winter, a remarkable motion was made in the House of Lords, to address the King to dissolve Parliament. The Duke of York, ‘ to the wonder of all ‘ men,’ and a majority of the temporal peers, were in favour of it. The altercations between the two Houses, which originated in the Lords’ summoning Sir John Fagg to appear before them in an appeal brought by Dr. Shirley, rendered such a measure highly expedient. But the question was decided in the negative by the Bench of Bishops voting against it.

‘ From this time the Country Party, as well as many good patriots unconnected with them, seem to have wished for a dissolution. The House of Commons had now sate fourteen years, and during that time, had been modelled, in a manner before unknown, to the purposes of the Court. Not less than a third of the members were placemen or pensioners. Lord Clifford had introduced, or more probably extended, the practice of buying downright one man after another. Many of the more indigent class trafficked their votes for a dinner at Whitehall, and a gratuity on extraordinary occasions. Others had the expenses of their elections defrayed from the Treasury. And it was common for those who had been chosen on popular grounds, after a few violent speeches, to sell themselves to the Court. Placed beyond the fear of the people, by the long continuance of the Parliament, they were encouraged in the hope of riches and promotion, by the increasing corruption of the government. Nor was it only from the venal that the danger to liberty proceeded. The House consisted in a great part of the old parties of Cavalier and Roundhead. The former, to use a quaint expression of the time, “ being almost past their vice, were become damnable godly;” and the latter dreaded nothing so much as religious persecution. The Court emissaries playing upon these passions, promised alternately to the one party a bill against fanatics, and to the other freedom for Dissenters; by which means they persuaded the former to be active

in the cause of royalty, and the latter to be passive in the defence of freedom. But the nation had almost forgotten these distinctions, and had been roused from the torpor which succeeded the Restoration, by the unpatriotic conduct of the King and his brother. A course of life insulting to the moral as well as the political feelings of his people, had not a little shaken their love for the reigning sovereign; but an attachment to foreign interests, and the profession of an odious religion, had excited the strongest aversion to the presumptive successor to the throne. In the hope of gathering some advantage from this disposition, the country party did not fail to urge a dissolution in the next session of Parliament: but their efforts, as we shall soon see, produced no favourable effect.' Vol. I. pp. 84—86.

The money which Charles obtained by a new secret treaty with the French King, containing the usual stipulations of neutrality on the one hand, and pension on the other, again enabled him to dispense with Parliament for fourteen months.

'At this time he was so utterly abandoned by his subjects, that he did not dare to trust even his ministers with his engagements. He wrote the treaty with his own hand, and confided himself entirely to no one but Lauderdale.'

Such were the degrading expedients to which the royal profligate could stoop, in order to supply the necessities of the moment. And while thus busily engaged in negotiating with the French ambassador for more money, still rising higher in his demands as the Parliament shewed more eagerness for the war, he was assuring the Commons, that they should not repent any trust they put in him for the safety of his kingdom. Even Hume himself, adverting to this part of his conduct, is compelled to speak in terms of indignation.

'His pledging his royal word in Parliament was evidently only an artifice to procure money, and has been justly styled by Mr. Hume, "one of the most dishonourable and scandalous acts that ever proceeded from a throne."'

In 1677, took place the nuptials of the Prince of Orange with the eldest daughter of the Duke of York, 'so auspicious to the future liberties of England.' Three years before, we are informed on Temple's authority, Lord Arlington had been sent into Holland to offer this match, but embarrassed with the condition that the Prince should assist Charles against his rebellious subjects.

'The Prince of Orange at that time waived the subject; saying with respect to the demand for aid, that he could not think the king of England could be so ill beloved or so imprudent as to need such assistance. The first motion was now made by the Prince himself to Sir William Temple, who thereupon entrusted his wife with a verbal message to Lord Danby.'

Danby, who was bent upon bringing the King off from a French alliance, as the means of securing his own popularity,



entered warmly into the Prince's interests, and took upon himself the management of the affair. He appears to have gained over the King to concur in the scheme, with singular address. Having taken the precaution to put Charles in special good humour, the crafty minister waited upon him with a bundle of letters, which he was well assured his Master would not trouble himself to read; all, as he affirmed, from the King's best friends, concurring in the desirableness of the measure. He represented what an admirable opportunity it afforded of laying asleep the suspicions of the nation with regard to Charles's secret preference for Popery and the French alliance, and of rendering the Commons tractable, by which means he might hope to obtain more liberal supplies. He urged that it would at the same time tend to soften the apprehensions entertained on the subject of the Duke's succession to the crown, and would therefore be no less favourable to his interests than to the King's; while it would place the Prince himself in more absolute dependence upon England. To the great amazement of the French and the Popish party, Charles suddenly gave in to these reasonings; and Lord Danby lost no time in improving the golden opportunity of the King's gracious mood, by summoning the Council, at which the royal will was declared, and the young lady was presented to the Prince by the King himself. So speedily was all this transacted, that when Danby was told by Montague, our envoy at the French Court, that Lewis complained very angrily of the Duke, for consenting to the match without at least acquainting him with it, the Treasurer replied, 'He wrongs him, for he (the Duke) did not know of it an hour before it was published, and the King himself not above two hours.' James's religious scruples were probably at the moment more easily overruled by the King, on account of the apparent policy of the measure, as it bore on his own succession; but his subsequent disappointment and mortification at finding how ill it answered this end, must have been extreme. Burnet says, that he never forgave Lord Danby.

As for Charles, his indolent and easy temper induced him readily to give into any scheme of his ministers, which promised to supply him with money; and so long as he obtained supplies, it mattered little to him whether they were furnished by the French Court or by his own Commons. It formed no part of his intentions, to break with Lewis; but he might congratulate himself on having now two strings to his bow, and on being able to make better terms with the French monarch, when he found himself in possession of the confidence of the Parliament. Foresight, however, did not enter into his character, and his whole government was conducted on the miserable system of expedients. Yet the way in which the transaction was brought

about, and the sudden removal of every obstacle which threatened to oppose its execution, must be viewed as giving it a very extraordinary character; and by the believer in the Divine superintendence of human affairs, the event will without hesitation be referred to a Providential interposition on behalf of our civil and religious liberties.

When Parliament met on the 28th of Jan. 1678, the King, in his speech, informed them of the Dutch alliance, and the marriage of his niece with the Prince of Orange, and told the Commons that he expected a plentiful supply to enable him to carry on the war with France. The Commons, whose anxiety for a *bona fide* war, arose from their well-grounded fears that Charles and Lewis were in secret concert, and that the army which was to be raised on this pretence, would be employed to subdue the people of England, still suspected the King's sincerity; and with reason, since the direction of the war was to be committed to the hands of ministers who had been themselves pensioned by France. Through secret channels, they learned that Earl Danby was at this very time endeavouring to obtain money for his royal Master. The supplies were agreed to, but clogged with conditions with which the King was offended. Charles was resolved not to break with the French King, and secretly exulted at having outwitted his good Commons, whose votes had left the country saddled, at the end of the session, with a needless burthen of 600,000*l.* and a standing army. Lewis, on the other hand, whose sole object appears to have been, to neutralize England by bribing her pensioned monarch, had no wish to render his good brother formidable by aiding him to raise such an army as might, after establishing unlimited prerogative at home, be turned against himself abroad. It was no part of his policy, to assist Charles, whom he well knew he could not trust, to subdue his subjects; it was therefore stipulated in one of his secret treaties, that Charles should never keep a standing army of above eight thousand in the three kingdoms. This degrading proposal enraged Charles, as well it might, and he is said to have exclaimed with an oath, "Does my brother of France think to serve me thus! Are all his promises to make me absolute master of my realms, come to this? Or does he think that a thing to be done with eight thousand men?"

Lord John apologizes for entering so minutely into these historic details, but he justly remarks, that the conduct of Lord Russell and the country party could not be explained without taking this previous view of the times. It was during this session of Parliament, and while the affairs of the nation were at this crisis, that the interview took place between Lords Russell and Hollis, and M. de Rouvigny, who was sent over by Lewis to confer with the popular party, which has been



made the ground of a malignant impeachment of their integrity and patriotism. Lord John devotes a chapter to the examination of Sir John Dalrymple's 'discoveries.' He cites Barillon's despatches, to shew, that Lord Russell not only himself received no money from the French King, but indignantly met the proposal to distribute a considerable sum in the Parliament, with the reply, that he should be sorry to have any commerce with persons capable of being gained by money. The English Lords openly expressed to Rouvigny, whose relationship to Lady Russell entitled him to the interview, their distrust of Lewis's intentions, and their fears that the pretended war with France would serve only to bring their country into subjection; but, on being assured by Rouvigny, that his Master was convinced of its not being his interest to make the King of England absolute, they did enter into an agreement to hinder, if possible, the war with France, provided Lewis would compel the King to dissolve the present Parliament. Both in endeavouring to prevent a war which there was reason to fear would be carried on only in pretence, and in taking this indirect means of procuring a dissolution of Parliament, Lord Russell had in view the interests of his country. His object, therefore, was as patriotic as his intentions were upright; and the peculiar dangers of the country might well seem to warrant the attempt to make Charles's secret intrigues with the French King, the means of his own defeat.

'The imminent danger which threatened us from the conduct of France, abetting the designs of Charles, cannot, at this day, be properly estimated. At the very time when the Parliament was giving money for a war, Lord Danby was writing, by his master's order, to beg for money as the price of peace. We shall presently see, that, five days after the House of Commons had passed the act for a supply, Lord Danby wrote to Paris, that Charles expected six millions yearly from France. Had Lewis been sincere in the project of making Charles absolute, there can be no doubt that it might have been easily accomplished. Was not this sufficient to justify the popular party in attempting to turn the battery the other way? The question was not, whether to admit foreign interference, but whether to direct foreign interference already admitted to a good object. The conduct of Lord Russell, therefore, was not criminal; but it would be difficult to acquit him of the charge of imprudence. The object of Lewis must have been, by giving hopes to each party in turn, to obtain the command of both. Charles, on the other hand, was ready to debase himself to the lowest point to maintain his alliance with France; any suspicion, therefore, of a connection between Lewis and the popular party would have rendered him more and more dependent, till the liberties of England might at last have been set up to auction at Versailles.' pp. 121, 122.

A war with France appeared to the country party on no

other ground desirable, than as it promised to secure the country against the dangers of a French alliance. A dissolution of Parliament, we have already seen, had become the anxious wish of every patriotic member of the House. The interview with Rouvigny led, therefore, to no change of object, on the part of the popular party; the agreement involved no deviation from what had all along been their patriotic designs. Nothing, therefore, can be more base, than to charge the Whigs with acting on this occasion as the enemies of their country. Yet are such charges as these the only apologies which corrupt statesmen venture to make for their own delinquencies; and it appears to be thought quite sufficient to excuse the most unconstitutional and nefarious acts, if a *Whig* precedent, true or false, can be adduced for the proceeding. *Ex alieni nominis jactura gradum sibi faciunt ad gloriam.*

When Parliament was at length dissolved in January, 1670, it appears to have been in no degree the result of foreign interference. But the House, exasperated by the discovery of the supposed Popish plot, had become quite unmanageable. A motion had been made, to remove the Duke from the King's presence and councils; and the Treasurer, Lord Danby, had been impeached of high treason. The former, therefore, was anxious that Parliament should be dissolved, lest it should proceed to further measures bearing on the succession; and the latter readily came to an understanding with the country party, that, in the event of a dissolution, his impeachment should be carried off with a mild censure, provided he withdrew from public affairs.

The elections were carried on much to the advantage of Opposition; and in the new Parliament, the important Bill was first brought in, for excluding the Duke of York from the succession. Lord Russell, who, in April, 1670, was, with several of the great Whig leaders, admitted to a new privy council, formed at the suggestion of Sir W. Temple, gave his opinion and his vote at first in favour of the plan of limitations in the event of a Popish successor. But Lord Shaftesbury, the president of the new council, warmly declared for the Bill of Exclusion as the only security against the Duke, who might by force of arms break through all the proposed limitations. Sir W. Temple opposed the plan of limitations on other grounds, as they would leave him in shackles which would not be broken through by any successor, and would impair the royal prerogative. Lord Russell appears to have felt the force of this reasoning; for, in Nov. 1680, having previously obtained the King's permission to retire from the council, he seconded Col. Titus in a motion for the appointment of a committee to draw up a bill 'to disable James Duke of York from inheriting the imperial crown of this realm.' The



bill passed the Commons, but was thrown out in the Lords. The following remarks on the characteristic distinction between the Whig and Tory parties, which, though the names were not new, had their rise in the then existing circumstances of the country, will place in a proper light the conduct of Lord Russell and his party on this occasion.

• The Whigs formed a popular party far less enthusiastic in their religious tenets, and less divided in their political views, than that which opposed Charles the First. With the exception, perhaps, of Sydney, who was not in Parliament, none of them wished for any thing more than a regular execution of our ancient constitutional laws; government by Parliament, and trial by jury. The hereditary succession of the crown was in their eyes a rule for the benefit of the people, and not a dispensation of Providence for the advantage of a single family. If at any time, therefore, the observance of the rule became dangerous to the welfare of the community, the legislature was, in their opinion, competent to consider whether that danger was greater than the inconvenience of deviating from the established course.

• In carrying on the ordinary government of the country, their chief aim and endeavour was to preserve unimpaired the rights and liberties of the people. If, to obtain these objects, they sometimes asked for the confirmation of privileges which were doubtful, and even the establishment of some that were new, these were only natural steps in the progress of civilisation. For the same rights which, fenced by uncertain boundaries, are, in barbarous times, the occasion of discord and civil war, become, when accurately defined, the safeguard of national tranquillity. A law to be really efficient, must not only be good in itself, but must be easy of execution, and unassailable on every side. A statute enacting the liberty of the press would be of no use, if the administration of justice were not pure; the responsibility of ministers would be a phantom, if the King could grant a pardon previous to impeachment. The Act of Magna Charta itself, as was stated at the end of the last chapter, was frequently violated, and became the cause of the most destructive wars. But its purpose having been completed by the Act of Habeas Corpus and the Bill of Rights, personal liberty and public tranquillity are undisturbed. To the necessity which exists of thus filling up the outline sketched by rude hands, we must attribute many of the pretensions which Mr. Hume has pointed out as innovations. With respect to religious distinctions, the Whigs, it must be owned, had generally a leaning towards the dissenters. Nor did this arise only from the love of freedom remarkable in those sectaries. It was connected with a laudable desire for toleration to every sect but one, which was active in its endeavours to alter the government.

• The Tories, on the other hand, were attached to the laws as well as the Whigs, but were for leaving entirely to the King, whether or not they should be executed. They considered the crown as a sacred and unalienable inheritance. They held that the rights of the successor to the throne were paramount and indefeasible. And as the Whigs wished to allow liberty as far as could be consistent with mo-

narchy, the Tories desired to give to monarchy every thing that was compatible with safety. Their attachment to the established religion alone was stronger than to the established government. At the time of which we are treating, these two principles of theirs were perfectly consistent. Whilst the Tories professed that they never would abandon the Church, the Church declared that no circumstance whatever could alter their allegiance to their King.

‘It must not be supposed, however, that the Tories, though loud in their professions of unlimited submission, ever seriously meant that they would not resist in an extreme case. They sincerely venerated the laws, and dreaded the subversion of our ancient constitution. Thus whilst they spoke with abhorrence of resistance to their sovereign, their conduct had a direct tendency to produce it. For their silent acquiescence in acts of petty tyranny, encouraged the King to proceed to still greater outrages, till, at last, no remedy was to be found but in a revolution.

‘The Whigs, on the other hand, by their persevering opposition, acted in a manner to prevent the necessity of the resistance of which they spoke so much.

‘These parties, it must be owned, have their foundations deep in the opinions of the country. As long as there is a body of men in this country attached to Church and King, more than to the constitution, the Tory party will subsist; and as long as there is a large portion of the people who consider monarchy only as the best protection for liberty, the Whig party will flourish.’ Vol. I. pp. 186—189.

We have passed over the chapter in which Lord John examines the charge brought against the popular party, more especially Algernon Sydney, of receiving money from France at a period subsequent to the mission of Rouvigny. Lord Russell is not implicated in this charge. The country party continued fearlessly to press the Bill of Exclusion; and Lord Russell declared, that till the King should free the House from the danger of a Popish successor, ‘a vote of money would only have the effect of destroying themselves with their own hands.’ The Commons refused supplies, and prepared to go all lengths rather than recede from their favourite measure. The King prorogued Parliament on the 10th January, 1681, which was followed by its dissolution; and a new one was summoned to meet at Oxford. The King opened the session on the 21st. On the 26th, the Exclusion Bill was again introduced on the motion of Sir R. Clayton, seconded by Lord Russell, and was read a first time on the 28th. Hardly had the House proceeded to some subsequent business, when the members were summoned to the House of Lords, to receive the King’s message that the Parliament should, without any previous prorogation, be dissolved. Charles was now fully resolved to meet his Parliament no more; at the same time, with his characteristic duplicity, he issued a Declara-



tion, in which he warned the people against designing men who accused him of an intention of laying aside parliaments, and expressed his determination 'that, after the lapse of a short period, their meetings should be constant and frequent.' In the same Declaration, he charged the late Parliament, among other things, with interfering in the regular prosecution by law of Protestant Dissenters. This passage succeeded in raising a cry of Church and King through the whole kingdom. The clergy, faithful to the Court, procured addresses from all parts of the country, vying with each other in fulsomeness of adulation. The fear of Presbyterianism now took place of the fear of Popery. The Church was said to be in danger, from the alliance of the Whigs with the Presbyterians, and this war-cry, ever fatal to the best interests of society, drowned the voice of those who ventured to vindicate the conduct of the Parliament. Toryism had its triumph.

'An impartial observer of those times would probably have been inclined to blame the imprudence of the Whigs in rejecting the limitations offered by the King. Experience teaches us not to rely on the continued support of the people, for the establishment of a check to arbitrary power, entirely prospective in its object. The utmost that the great body of a nation can be brought to do, is to apply a remedy to an evil that has been felt, and to provide at the same time against its future recurrence. By the alarm of the Popish plot, however, a certain degree of popularity had been procured for the Exclusion Bill. At that time, and with all the strength, both in Parliament and in the Council, which could ever be reasonably expected, the measure had been tried, and failed. It was evident the Parliament had not been assembled at Oxford for the purpose of granting the petition of the Commons. The best course that remained for the Whigs, was to obtain the banishment of the Duke for life, and rely upon their force for maintaining it. On the other hand, Charles was availing himself with great dexterity of the partiality which is always felt by the people for persons of royal blood. The higher his offers were, the greater appeared the violence of opposition; and he wished to seem oppressor, in order to become an oppressor.

'Whilst, however, we withhold the praise of judgment and discretion from the Whigs, it is impossible to deny them a tribute of admiration for their fearlessness and patriotism. Neither the manifest power nor the pervading influence of the Crown prevented their making a direct attack upon the brother of the King, who was at the same time his favourite and friend. Nor did they seek their object by any bye-ways or illegal methods: they asked for the exclusion of James by a bill regularly proposed in a full Parliament; and at the same time that they abstained from using force themselves, they not only shut themselves out for ever from the favour, but exposed themselves to the persecution of an arbitrary and vindictive Prince.'

Vol. I. pp. 267, 268.

The reign of terror now commenced. Charles, it is probable, was himself surprised at the ease with which, by the retreat of the Whigs, he was enabled to pursue the conquest of the liberties of his subjects; and his attachment to the Protestant religion must doubtless have been strengthened by the zealous assistance he received from the churchmen.

'The Universities were unanimous in giving their sanction to doctrines calculated to obtain the favour of royalty, and rivet the chains of the multitude. The Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, in addressing the King, told him, that he reigned "by a fundamental, hereditary right of succession, which no religion, no law, no fault, can alter or diminish." The celebrated decree of the University of Oxford, condemning resistance, and inculcating passive obedience, was not passed till some time afterwards. But these declarations were moderate, when compared with the doctrines inculcated in the sermons of various divines.'

The Dissenters now too late repented of their ill-judged concurrence in the Act by which they shut out themselves as well as the Papists from the protection of the laws. Charles, or at least his present counsellors, were not disposed to forget their rejection of the royal Indulgence, and their zeal against Popery. 'The strength of the Dissenters,' it was said, 'is the weakness of the Crown.' The House of Brunswick found it otherwise; but these were the days of the Stuarts. In order, therefore, to diminish their strength, the act of the xxxvth of Elizabeth was strictly enforced.

'Dissenting ministers were prosecuted in all parts of the country, and obliged to pay heavy fines for the discharge of their duty. The jails were filled with those who were unable to pay these fines, and it is said, that in Uxbridge alone, two hundred warrants for distress were issued.'

The trial of Argyle took place in 1681. The arbitrary invasion of the rights of the City of London, was the next important measure by which the Court sought to strike terror into the friends of the constitution. The year 1683 was distinguished by 'the surrender of the City's charter and its renewal on the 'most abject terms,' 'the decree of the University of Oxford, 'enforcing slavery as a moral and religious duty,' and the deaths of Lord Russell and Sidney.

Lord John enters fully into all the circumstances which led to the apprehension and murder\* of this inestimable man, and examines at length the reality of the Rye-House Plot. In Bishop Burnet's journal, we have the faithful record of an eye-witness of the last scenes of Russell's life, which has left little

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\* So his execution is justly styled in the preamble to the act for reversing his attainder, which was the second act of King William.



for any subsequent biographer to supply. Some interesting particulars, however, are added from notes in Lady Russell's and Dr. Burnet's hand-writing, at Woburn. Nothing can be more admirable than the paper which Lord Russell delivered to the sheriffs before his execution, in which, after expressing his gratitude to God for all his goodness, more especially for the invaluable blessing of a religious education, and for the peace of mind which he then enjoyed through faith in the Redeemer, he solemnly renews the protestation of his innocence. 'From the time of choosing sheriffs,' he says, 'I concluded the heat in that matter would produce something of this kind; and I am not much surprised to find it fall upon me; and I wish what is done to me may put a stop, and satiate some people's revenge, and that no more innocent blood be shed.' Thus fell, to gratify the revenge of James, and to secure his equally worthless brother in his transient possession of arbitrary power, this great and good man. Charles, it appears, inclined to save him, but said, 'he was forced to consent to his death, otherwise he must have broke with his brother.'

This is now a tale of other times. The liberties for which Lord Russell sacrificed his life, are now established; but surely, those persons are unworthy of the privileges they inherit, who would wish to bury the recollection of the conflicts and sufferings by which they have been purchased. Thanks to the ceaseless references which, in their fondness for those golden times, the high church party are making to the days of the Stuarts, and the marked dread and abhorrence of Whiggism which is manifested in high places, there is no danger of their being forgotten by the present generation. The character of Lord Russell, however, is in broad and striking contrast to every thing factious, disloyal, and revolutionary. He contemplated no visionary changes in the form of government, nor did the notorious degree to which corruption prevailed in the House of Commons, lead him to seek any other than constitutional means of resisting the progress of arbitrary power. His conduct was marked by equal firmness and moderation, and by a thorough consistency. He was a party-man without ambition. He was popular, yet no demagogue. He was no courtier, yet a sincere royalist. Though an oppositionist, he was an orthodox Protestant, and though a friend to the Dissenters, he was an evangelical churchman.

The extracts we have given from the present volumes, will have rendered it unnecessary for us to pass any commendation upon the style of the composition. It is clear, manly, and unaffected; and the sentiments are worthy of a Russell. A portrait of Lord William is prefixed to the work, which also contains a fac-simile of his hand-writing, and an appendix of interesting documents. No. I. 'The Advice of William, Earl of

'Bedford, to his sons,' whoever be its author, is highly deserving of a separate republication.

Art. II. 1. *The History of British India*. By James Mill, Esq. In Three Volumes, 4to. London, 1817.

2. *Historical Sketches of the South of India*, in an Attempt to trace the History of Mysoor, from the Origin of the Hindoo Government of that State, to the Extinction of the Mahomedan Dynasty in 1799. By Colonel Mark Wilks. Vols. II. and III. 4to. London, 1817.

**D**URING the scenes of confusion which succeeded the death of Aurungzebe, Jaffier Khan, an adventurer, had made himself independent in the subahdarry of Bengal. In 1756, Suraja Dowla, one of his successors, exasperated by the protection which had been afforded at Calcutta to an individual obnoxious to his displeasure, assaulted that city; which, notwithstanding that it might have been successfully defended, was in the most dastardly manner abandoned by its civil and military chiefs. So precipitate was their flight, that the vessels in which they embarked for safety, left to the disastrous consequences of inevitable capture, a great number of individuals who might have been brought off with the utmost facility. It was on this occasion that the fearful tragedy of the Black Hole, terminated in the suffocation of a hundred and twenty-three out of a hundred and forty-six individuals who were confined in that 'small, ill-aired, and unwholesome dungeon.' It does not, however, appear, that the Subahdar had the slightest knowledge of their situation. The larger portion of the blame must, at all events, remain with the English themselves, who had previously used as a prison, a place of so narrow dimensions, and so destitute of light and ventilation as to have acquired that significant designation. At this critical juncture, it happened fortunately for the local interests of the East India Company, that effectual aid was at hand. Clive, whose energy of character and military genius had been advantageously signalized in the wars of Carnatic, and in the subjugation of the pirate Angria, was, after some delay, sent from Madras with a formidable European and native force, under the convoy of Admiral Watson. Calcutta was retaken after a two hours cannonade from the ships, on the 2nd of January, 1757, and on the 10th, Hoogly, a considerable city at some distance, was taken by the British troops. Suraja Dowla reinvested Calcutta with a large army, but, alarmed by a spirited sortie, agreed to an accommodation, which was followed up by a treaty of alliance.

Clive now entered upon a series of exploits, bold indeed, and decisive, but marked by a steady and systematic disregard of those higher principles of faith and honour which ought ever



punctiliously to regulate the conduct of public men. While the English were engaged in the expedition to Hoogly, intelligence arrived of the commencement of hostilities between England and France, which placed Clive in a state of no small embarrassment. The French had at Chandernagore, a body of European infantry and artillery, which, if added to the formidable means of the Subahdar, might have possibly made him an overmatch for the English force. But while Clive was in doubt as to the line of policy which it might be most advisable to pursue, the French relieved him from his hesitation, by proposing a local treaty of neutrality, which he readily acceded to, and the terms were speedily adjusted. Before, however, the signatures were actually affixed, reinforcements arrived from Bombay, and Clive then deeming himself strong enough to encounter both the French and Suraja Dowla, in shameless violation of his own recorded opinion that the non-execution of the treaty would subject him to the imputation of defective principle or unsteadiness of character, immediately dismissed the French deputies, and, after a severe but short struggle, reduced Chandernagore. His next object was, the destruction of the Subahdar; and this he effected by a complicated train of intrigues and treasons, which ensured the victory to the English in the battle of Plassey, and, terminated in the death of Suraja Dowla, and the elevation of Meer Jaffier to his office. The scramble for spoil among the English officers and the members of the Committee, together with the 'consummate treachery' practised upon Omichund, the principal agent in the intrigues with Jaffier, are briefly but strongly stated by Mr. Mill, and to him we must refer for the sickening details. The treatment of Omichund alone, if, as we doubt not, it be correctly detailed, is not exceeded, in shameless and deliberate faithlessness, by any of the deeds which have been consigned to infamous memorial in the page of history. Of all the individuals engaged in this transaction, Admiral Watson alone had the virtue to refuse his sanction; and his name was actually forged to the treaty which deceived, ruined, and maddened Omichund.

The fall of Suraja, and the establishment of Jaffier, were the marking events of the administration of Clive, and the foundation of the Bengal dominion of the East India Company. They were attended and followed by others of scarcely inferior magnitude, all of which that subtle politician contrived to make more or less subservient to his views. After the successful expedition to the Circars, under Colonel Forde, the defeat of the Mogul expedition against Bengal, and Forde's brilliant victory over a formidable Dutch armament, Clive resigned the government in 1760, and returned to England. As an illustration of the estimation in which this active and able

governor was held by the natives, the following specimen of Indian humour is cited in a note.

'There was an officer of rank, to whom Jaffier had been often indebted before his elevation, remarkable for his wit. This, from their former intimacy, and a jealousy of present neglect, he did not spare on the Nabob himself. While the armies of the Nabob and of Clive were at Patna, he was one day accused to the Nabob of having permitted a fray between some of his own soldiers and some of Clive's. "It chanced," says the author of the *Seer Mutakhareen*, ii. 19. "that Mirza Shemseddin himself made his appearance at that very moment: it was in full durbar, and in the hall of audience. The Nawab fixed his eyes upon him, and spoke a few words that seemed to border upon reprimand: 'Sir,' said he, 'your people have had a fray with the Colonel's people: Is your honour to learn who is that Colonel Clive, and in what station heaven has seated him?' 'My lord Nawab,' answered the Mirza, getting up instantly, and standing bolt upright before him: 'Me, to quarrel with the Colonel! me! who never get up in the morning, without making three profound bows to his very jack ass! How then could I be daring enough, after that, to fall out with the rider himself!' " " Vol. II. p. 164, Note.

The presidency of Vansittart was by no means a season of quiet rule. A second Mogul invasion called for active exertions, and either the vices of Jaffier, or the hope of fresh donations from a grateful successor, induced the Council of Calcutta to depose him, and to raise Meer Causim, his son-in-law, to the vacant musnud. Vansittart appears to have been a meritorious governor; but his authority was a divided one. Circumstances had given the majority to his opponents in the council, who availed themselves of their ascendancy to thwart his measures, and to push their own fortunes at the expense, not only of justice, right, and precedent, but of all decency whatsoever. Their vexations and oppressions became at length intolerable, and the violence of Mr. Ellis, the chief of the factory at Patna, drove the Nabob Meer Causim into open hostility. Causim, though ferocious and cowardly, was a man of some ability, and he had assiduously employed himself in disciplining his army, and in arranging it, as far as possible, on the European model. In this he was assisted by Sumroo, a German adventurer, not destitute, apparently, of talent and enterprise, but a savage and unhesitating executor of the bloody mandates of his master. Ellis precipitated the rupture by surprizing Patna; but it was retaken by the Nabob's troops, and he, together with a number of his countrymen, was made prisoner, while Mr. Amyatt and other Englishmen were killed in an unsuccessful struggle. The Calcutta Government immediately reinvested Meer Jaffier with the ensigns of royalty; and the English forces marched to the encounter of Causim's troops. The conflict was long, severe, and for a time, even doubtful; such was the improved consistency



of the native army ; and even after victory had declared for the British, they were baffled during nearly a month, by a strong intrenchment behind which the Indians retired. Causim, exasperated by defeat, indulged his appetite for slaughter. Several natives of rank were put to death by his command ; and when his passions were inflamed to the highest by the storming of the lines, and the subsequent reduction of his strongly fortified capital, he gave orders for the massacre of Mr. Ellis and all the English prisoners, with the exception of Mr. Fullerton, a surgeon, whose professional skill had recommended him to the favourable notice of the Nabob. Meer Causim, expelled from his dominions, took refuge with Sujah the Vizir and Nabob of Oude, to whose army the disciplined sepoy's of his guest were an important reinforcement. In the war which followed between the Company and the Vizir, the main events were, the battle of Patna, gained by the English under Major Carnac, and the victory of Buxar, gained by Sir Hector Munro. The last is stated to have been

‘ one of the most critical and important victories in the history of the British wars in that part of the globe. It broke completely the force of Sujah Dowla, the only Mogul chief who retained till this period any considerable strength ; it placed the emperor himself under the protection of the English ; and left them, without dispute, the greatest power in India.’

In the mean time, the servants of the Company were pushing to the utmost their infamous extortions. The interests and the commands of their employers were alike slighted in their shameless scramble for the spoils of oppressed and exhausted India. The miserable Jaffier was assailed on all sides, and every fresh concession was but the signal for a more audacious encroachment.

Respecting one principal sum of enormous amount, exacted by these harpies from the hapless Nabob, it is the express affirmation of a Director of the Company, that ‘ all delicacy was laid aside in the manner in which payment was obtained for this sum, of which seven-eighths were for losses sustained, or said to be sustained, in an illicit monopoly of the necessaries of life, carried on against the orders of the Company, and to the utter ruin of many thousands of the India merchants ; that of the whole, one half was soon extorted from him, though part of the payments to the Company was still undischarged, and though the Company was sinking under the burden of the war, and obliged to borrow great sums of money of their servants at eight per cent. interest, and, even with that assistance, unable to carry on the war and their investment, but obliged to send their ships half loaded to Europe.’ In addition to this information, we have the testimony of Clive himself, who, after

stating that the Company was 'possessed of one half of the 'Nabob's revenues,' affirms, that of the other half, which he nominally enjoyed, he was, in reality, little more than an agent for the collection; the Company's servants treating him as their 'banker,' and drawing upon him *ad libitum* both as to frequency and amount. Harassed by these rapacious persecutions, and broken down by the infirmities of age and debauchery, Jaffier died in January, 1765.

It was obvious, however, that the state of things which we have described, could not long be permitted to subsist. After considerable discussion and strenuous opposition, therefore, it was determined by a small majority of the Court of Directors, to send out Clive a second time, now raised to the peerage, armed with extraordinary powers, and including in his own person, the offices of commander in chief, president, and governor, in Bengal. When he reached India in April, 1765, he found the affairs of the Company in a condition which entitled and determined him to enter upon a line of policy very different from the cautious and temporizing system which had been hitherto pursued. The British power was predominant, and there was no state in India able to oppose an effectual barrier against its advance to unlimited dominion. Clive, in the steady pursuance of his designs, reduced the Vizir to unconditional submission, and, on the 12th of August, 1765, obtained from the Mogul Emperor the firmaun of the *duannee*, or the imperial grant, which, by consigning to the English the revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Arissa, gave them the recognised, as well as the actual sovereignty of an extensive empire.

The attention of Lord Clive was directed to the necessity of framing regulations in restraint and direction of the inland trade carried on by the servants of the Company for their own advantage, which had been a fertile source of oppression and injury to the nations; but he does not appear to have been very much in earnest on this point: he talked, indeed, largely and loudly, of cleansing the Augean stable, but he seems to have left it pretty nearly as he found it, and has not escaped the imputation of having made profit by its sweepings. After quelling, with resolution and decision, a dangerous mutiny excited among the officers of the army by a reduction of their allowances, he quitted Bengal on his return to England early in 1767. Clive was unquestionably an extraordinary man, but his powers were rather shewy than substantial. Every thing about him savoured of the adventurer; and his measures were rather specious, and brilliant in their semblance, than of solid and durable advantage. His favourite policy of a 'double government, or an administration carried on in name by the Nabob, in reality by the Company,' is clearly shewn to have been fraught with mischievous



consequences, and is justly stigmatized as the invention of a mind in which 'a certain degree of crooked artifice seems to have presented itself, pretty congenially, in the light of profound and skilful politics.'

Clive was not wanting to himself amid the charges and reproaches which assailed him from all quarters: on a subsequent occasion, when the affairs of the Company were under parliamentary discussion, he made an exculpatory speech in which

'he spared not the character either of his fellow-servants, or of the Directors. "I attribute the present situation of our affairs," he said, "to four causes; a relaxation of government in my successors; great neglect on the part of administration; notorious misconduct on the part of the Directors; and the violent and outrageous proceedings of general courts." To hear his account, no one would believe that any creature who had ever had any thing to do with the government, had ever behaved well but himself. It was much easier for him, however, to prove that his conduct was liable to no peculiar blame, than that it was entitled to extraordinary applause. With great audacity, both military and political, fortunately adapted to the scene in which he acted, and with considerable skill in the adaptation of temporary expedients to temporary exigencies, he had no capacity for a comprehensive scheme, including any moderate anticipation of the future; and it was the effects of his short-sighted regulations, and of the unfounded and extravagant hopes he had raised, with which the Company were now struggling on the verge of ruin, and on account of which the conduct both of them and of their servants was exposed to far more than its due share of obloquy and condemnation.'

Vol. II. p. 293.

Mr. Verelst succeeded to the Presidency on the departure of Clive. Under his administration, and the subsequent government of Mr. Cartier, nothing occurred in Bengal of sufficient magnitude to require specification; but in the South of India, a revolution had taken place, the consequences of which, at more than one period, threatened the Carnatic establishments of England with dissolution. Hyder Ali, by a series of adventures, romantic in European experience, but of no rare occurrence in Eastern countries, had reduced the authority of the Hindu Rajah of Mysore to a mere name, and wielded at his will the resources of that central state. Sometimes on the verge of ruin, but in the extremity of his fortunes displaying the fertility of his mind and the pertinacity of his ambition, he gained strength from every vicissitude, and ultimately fixed himself firmly in the possession of power. In 1767, he first entered on hostilities against the Company, and after a short war of various success, contriving by a series of dexterous manœuvres to fix the attention of the English army to a distant point, he suddenly appeared with a formidable cavalry before the walls of Madras,

and intimidated the Presidency into an accommodation and alliance.

The importance of the events which had for some time been transacting in Hindostan, together with the exaggerated estimates of the wealth of India and the value of Indian trade, had not failed to excite public attention; but the parliamentary arrangement of 1769, did little more than record a stipulation for the transfer to the national treasury, of a share of the imaginary profits made by the Company. The Directors, indeed, contributed as far as they possibly could, to sustain the popular delusion. In the midst of failing revenues and accumulating debt, under engagements to answer drafts from India, without any means of adequate provision, they pushed up their dividend with a desperation for which the mere imputation of rapacity seems insufficient to account. On the 17th of March, 1772, a half-yearly dividend of six and a quarter per cent was declared; on the 15th of July, the Directors obtained a loan of 400,000*l.* from the Bank; on the 29th, they procured from the same quarter an additional 200,000*l.*; and on the 10th of August, they waited on the Minister to apprise him, that unless Government would advance at least one million, the prosperous concerns of the India Company would terminate in a total failure of the means of payment. The parliamentary investigation which followed upon these disclosures, led to a complete alteration in the system of management, and to the first important step towards the establishment of ministerial influence and control over the affairs of the Company. It was proposed, and determined, that the qualification of a voter in the General Court, should be raised from 500*l.* to 1000*l.*, and that, instead of an annual election of the whole body of the Directors, one fourth only should be subject to the ballot. The provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Arissa, were to be placed under the administration of a governor-general, with an annual salary of 25,000*l.*, assisted by four counsellors with 8000*l.* per annum; and to this supreme government, the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay were declared subordinate. A high court of judicature was established at Calcutta, in which a chief-justice with a stipend of 8000*l.* presided, with three assistant judges whose salaries were fixed at 6000*l.* a year each.

As subsidiary articles it was proposed; that the first governor-general and counsellors should be nominated by Parliament in the act, and hold their office for five years, after which the patronage of those great offices should revert to the Directors, but still subject to the approbation of the Crown; that every thing in the Company's correspondence from India, which related to the civil or military affairs, to the government of the country, or the administration of the revenues, should be laid before the Ministry; that no person in the



service either of the King or of the Company, should be allowed to receive presents; and that the governor-general, the counsellors, and judges, should be excluded from all commercial profits and pursuits.'

These regulations are ably but severely analysed by Mr. Mill, and shewn to be, in nearly every instance, inadequate to their avowed object, but at the same time to fall in very completely with 'the current of that policy which for many reasons has been running with perfect regularity and considerable strength, to diminish the influence of numbers in affairs of government, and reduce every thing as much as possible to the oligarchical state.' He shews, we think satisfactorily, that the plan had not the smallest tendency to remedy the main evils of which it was held out as the cure, and that it was fraught with mischiefs which did not previously exist. It is, in fact, obvious upon the very face of the transaction, that the great object throughout, was, to bring the East India Company into a state of entire dependence upon the Minister of the Crown. With respect to that part of the scheme which related to the dispensation of justice, Mr. Mill's comments are so forcible, that though we feel the necessity of a somewhat more rapid progress through his volumes than we are now making, we must suffer him to speak for himself.

'The grand source, however, of mischief to the natives, in the jurisprudential plan, was the unfortunate inattention of its authors to the general principles of law, detached from its accidental and national forms. As the vulgar of every nation think their language the natural one, and all others arbitrary and artificial; so, a large mass of Englishmen consider English law as the pure extract of reason, adapted to the exigencies of human nature itself: ignorant that, for the greater part, it is arbitrary, technical, and ill-adapted to the general ends which it is intended to serve; that it has more of singularity, and less capacity of adaptation to the state of other nations, than any scheme of law, to be found in any other civilized country. Yet this whole system, the British parliament, or British ministry, transplanted to Bengal exactly as it stood; and imagined that they had amply provided for the administration of justice in India. But the English law, which in general has neither definition nor words to guide the discretion or circumscribe the license of the Judge, presented neither rule nor analogy in cases totally altered by diversity of ideas, manners, and pre-existing rights; and the violent efforts which were made to bend the rights of the natives to a conformity with the English laws, for the purpose of extending jurisdiction, and gratifying a pedantic and mechanical attachment to the arbitrary forms of the Westminster courts, produced more injustice and oppression, and excited more alarm, than probably was experienced, through the whole of its duration, from the imperfection of the previous powers of law and judicature.' Vol. II. pp. 299, 300.

Warren Hastings was the first governor-general under the

new arrangement, and General Clavering, Colonel Monson, Mr. Barwell, and Mr. Francis, were appointed members of council. The transactions of this celebrated administration, are too complicated for satisfactory analysis upon a contracted scale: its distinguishing features are to be found in the articles of charge brought against Mr. Hastings by the House of Commons. The first efforts of the Government were directed to the improvement of the revenues, in the collection of which, many hazardous and injurious alterations were introduced; and, in connexion with these steps, considerable changes were made among the native officers invested with responsibility and rank, in the different departments of the civil and judicial administration. By far the greater portion of these alterations and adjustments, evidently proceeded on false principles, and were, as might have been anticipated, productive of calamitous effects. In the mean time, the weak and restless Emperor Shah Aulum, dissatisfied with the quiet possession of the districts of Allahabad and Corah, assigned and guaranteed to him by the English, and actuated by a childish anxiety to re-possession Delhi, the capital of his ancestors, made a most impolitic arrangement for that purpose with the Mahrattas, who, indeed, fulfilled their engagement to subdue that city, but reduced the helpless Mogul to the situation of a mere pageant, upheld by them in the semblance of power for the advancement of their own designs. They then engaged in hostilities against the Rohillas, a brave and free people, under the equitable government of Hafez Rhamet, a gallant and accomplished man, who, upon this, joined his troops with those of the English and the Vizir. But the Rohilla country had long been a favourite object of the Vizir's ambition, and he found no difficulty in purchasing the Governor-general's concurrence in his unprincipled scheme. So far was Hastings from revolting at the proposition, or hesitating to close with it, that he stimulated the Vizir to its execution. He sold the Rohillas to their enemy: his council sanctioned the infamous bargain, and Colonel Champion with his brigade, marched to execute it. The struggle was nobly and skilfully maintained by the high-spirited chief and his intrepid people; but European discipline prevailed: Hafez fell in the battle of his country, and the Vizir, who, with his troops, had taken no share in the engagement, spread themselves in every direction, and reduced to a plundered and miserable waste, the once happy and richly cultivated Rohilcund. All these transactions had occurred previously to the arrival of the new council appointed by Parliament, the members of which did not reach Calcutta till October 1774. The first business which engaged its attention, was the Rohilla war. Clavering, Monson, and Francis, who were



recently from Europe, united in its condemnation, while Mr. Barwell lent his support to the Governor. The majority called for the correspondence with the commander of the troops, and with the political agent at the court of the Vizir; but its production was evaded by Mr. Hastings, on the pretext that it contained private and confidential matter unfit for the public eye.

'Nothing,' remarks Mr. Mill, 'could be more unfortunate for Mr. Hastings, than his war against the Rohillas, and the suppression of his correspondence with Mr. Middleton. The first branded the spirit of his administration with a mark, which its many virtues were never able to obliterate, of cruel and unprincipled aggression; and the second stained him with a natural suspicion of personal impurity. Both together gave his rivals those advantages over him which rendered his subsequent administration a source of contention and misery, and involved him in so great a storm of difficulties and dangers at its close.' Vol. II. p. 351.

We shall not attempt to particularize the numberless disputes between Mr. Hastings and his council: in the greater part of them, his character was more or less implicated, and additional force was given to the imputations against him by his continual anxiety to crush or to evade enquiry. The most remarkable of these transactions, was that in which the Rajah Nuncomar sustained so tragical a part. In March, 1776, this person delivered in to the Council a paper, accusing the Governor-General of receiving large sums by way of bribe on certain specified occasions. Hastings, instead of meeting the charges and establishing his innocence, stood upon the dignity of his official character, and declined answering the accusation; but not satisfied with this, he instituted a course of legal proceedings against Nuncomar in the criminal court of Calcutta, and succeeded, as it appears to us, on most insufficient grounds, in procuring from a jury of Englishmen, and Englishmen moreover at Calcutta, a verdict of guilty against the object of his vindictive pursuit. To this transaction, the judge, Sir Elijah Impey, lent the weight of his opinion and authority, and refusing all appeal and all respite, 'proceeded with unrelenting determination to the execution of Nuncomar, who, on the 5th of August, with a tranquillity and firmness that never were surpassed, submitted to his fate, not only amid the tears and lamentations, but the cries and shrieks of an innumerable assemblage of his countrymen.' For his share in this melancholy business, Sir Elijah Impey was afterwards summoned to the bar of the House of Commons, but on hearing his defence, a majority of the members voted against accusation; and in fact, it appears that he had enough of the mere letter of the law on his side to shield him. Hitherto, the majority in council had been in opposition to Mr. Hastings, and his measures had consequently been rejected by the

votes of his opponents, but the death of Colonel Monson, in November, 1776, gave the decision to the Governor by means of his own casting vote. Previously to this, while he was kept by the ascendancy of his opponents in a state of weakness and depression, Mr. Hastings had tendered, through a confidential channel, his resignation to the Court of Directors, by whom it had been accepted; but on his disenthralment by the death of Monson, he disavowed his agent and retained his authority. In 1780, the disputes between Mr. Hastings and Mr. Francis terminated in a duel, in which the latter was wounded, and soon afterwards returned to England.

The political relations between the Company and the principal Mahratta powers, had for some time been in a threatening state, and at length brought on a war, of which some of the incidents were not very honourable to the British arms; but in 1779 and 1780, the brilliant exploits of Goddard and Popham restored their credit. In Carnatic, the usual course of intrigues and oppressions had been going on. In 1773, the Rajah of Tanjore, without even a colourable pretext, was subdued, and deposed, but, on the assumption of the government of Madras by Lord Pigot in 1776, he was restored to his throne. This event was followed by a train of disgusting cabals and quarrels, which ended in the arrest of Lord Pigot by a majority of his council, and in the recal, prosecution, and conviction of the principal offenders. Sir Thomas Rumbold, the succeeding President of Madras, subjected himself to the most degrading imputations, and in 1781, was dismissed from his office. In 1778, intelligence having been received that hostilities had commenced between England and France, possession was taken of all the French settlements in India. But a conflict was now approaching, which brought the Carnatic interests of the Company into jeopardy. Hyder Ali had, in various exigencies, made application to the English for the assistance which previous stipulations had entitled him to demand; but in every instance compliance had been evaded. On this account, and for other obvious reasons, he had long cherished an antipathy to the English, and had been solicitous to improve his connexion with the French, of which nation he had a considerable number in his army, both officers and privates. We ought, perhaps, to have paused at an earlier part of this article, for the purpose of directing the attention of our readers to the valuable work of Colonel Wilks, whose first volume was noticed in the *E. R.* for August, 1810, and to whose continuation of his history, we shall now have occasion to refer. This judicious Writer was, if not the first, yet, among the first, to expose the absurdity of attributing to India the observance of the feudal system, and to explode the baseless hypothesis of the early advanced civilization of Hindostan.



His discussions, too, of the contending claims to the proprietorship of the soil, have thrown much light on that greatly misapprehended subject. The early history of Hyder, is contained in Mr. Wilks's first volume. The second commences with the Mysoor war of 1767, to which we have already adverted. We shall only here add respecting it, that Colonel Wilks does ample justice to the skill and gallantry of Colonel Smith, by whom, under almost every possible disadvantage, that war was ably, and, as far as he was concerned, successfully conducted. Smith, who is affirmed by the historian to have been 'the best tempered man living,' and, as 'an executive soldier,' 'classed among the first of the age in which he lived,' is also said not to have committed one 'fault exclusively military' in the management of the war. But to Hyder is awarded the higher praise of having avoided every 'political mistake;' and his military errors are described as the effect of imperfect means, rather than the result of inadequate conceptions. In the Mahratta war which succeeded, Hyder was nearly ruined; but ultimately escaped, though at the expense of important cessions of territory. After having employed several years in collecting his resources, and consolidating his strength, Hyder, in 1780, commenced his career of devastation; and such had been the supineness and improvidence of the Madras Government, though forewarned in every possible way, that 'black columns' of smoke were every where in view from St. Thomas's mount, 'distant only nine miles from Madras, before an order was issued for the movement of a single soldier.' Every thing was, of course, in confusion, but measures were taken to meet the emergency: detachments were called from different quarters, and officers were sent to take the command of distant fortresses. The most important of these places, belonged to the Nabob of Carnatic, whose mis-government had been so complete, that not the slightest expectation could exist, that one of his officers would be faithful to his trust. Hence arose the necessity, strangely neglected till too late, of superseding them by European commandants. In the execution of this service, instances of uncommon gallantry occurred, of which the following affords an extraordinary instance.

'An officer was detached by Colonel Brathwaite, when at Caran-gooly on his march from Pondicherry to Chingleput, to take the command of Wandewash.

'Hyder was known to be in force in the neighbourhood of that place: its surrender was probable; the distance was thirty miles; and a body of four thousand horse was stated to be interposed: but the great importance of the enterprize justified the attempt under these slender chances of success. Lieutenant Flint was selected for this service, and after a fatiguing march on the morning of the 10th

of August, he moved at eleven on the same night, with one hundred firelocks. By deviating to unfrequented paths, he arrived without interruption in the vicinity of Wandewash, late in the forenoon of the 11th. After ascertaining that the place was still in the possession of Mahommed Ali's troops, he sent a message to the kelledar announcing his approach; but was answered, that he would be fired at, if he attempted to come within range of the guns; and met a picket sent to stop him at the verge of the esplanade. He had the address to persuade the officer that he had misapprehended his orders; which could only have been to stop the party till he was satisfied they were friends, of which fact he could entertain no doubts; and during the remaining parley, continued to advance, persuading every successive messenger to return with another reference, until within musquet shot of the ramparts, which were manned with troops, and the gates distinctly seen to be shut. Here he halted; announced that he had a letter from the nabob Mahommed Ali to the kelledar, which he was ordered to deliver into his own hands, and demanded admission for that purpose with a few attendants. With this demand the kelledar positively refused to comply, but at length agreed to receive the letter in the space between the gate and the barrier of the sortie. Lieutenant Flint was admitted with four attendants, faithful and well instructed sepoys, and found the kelledar seated on a carpet, attended by several men of rank, thirty swordsmen, his usual personal guard, and one hundred sepoys drawn up to protect him. After the first compliments, Lieutenant Flint avowed that he had no letter from Mahommed Ali, but possessed that which in the exigency of the times ought to be deemed equivalent; the order of his own government, written in communication with Mahommed Ali. This order, the kelledar treated with the utmost contempt, and his arguments with derision; desired him to return to the place from whence he came; and to the proposition of impossibility from the increased distance of the corps from which he was detached, and the country being in possession of the enemy, he was answered with fresh sarcasm. He mildly replied, that he was placed in a desperate situation, and as the kelledar rose to depart, he suddenly seized him, and announced his instant death if any person should move a hand for his rescue; the bayonets of the four sepoys were in the same instant at his breast, and their countenances announced a firm decision to share the fate of their officer. The consternation of the moment afforded time for the remainder of the little detachment to rush in at the concerted signal and effectually secure the kelledar. Lieutenant Flint then addressed the troops in the language of conciliation, explained the conditions on which the kelledar should retain all the honours of command, while he himself should provide for effectual defence; and finally the gates were opened, and the whole party entered together as friends.

The act of surrendering the place to Hyder, had been prepared to receive the seal of the kelledar on that very day; and during the interval in which Lieutenant Flint waited the authority of his government to exclude him from the fort, his efforts at incessant counter-



action were foiled, by the address of the new commandant, who found means gradually and rapidly to secure the attachment of the better portion of the garrison.

\* Strange as in these days the proposition may sound, this lieutenant was an officer of very considerable experience. To a scientific knowledge of the theory, he added some practical acquaintance with the business of a siege; and to military talents of no ordinary rank, a mind fertile in resources, and a mild confidence of manner, which, as his troops were wont to say, rendered it impossible to feel alarm in his presence. He found the place in a ruinous state, furnished with abundance of cannon, but no carriages, and little powder; he repaired the works, constructed carriages, and manufactured powder. He had not one artilleryman, but he prevailed on the silversmiths, who, according to the routine of Hindoo warfare, are the apology for cannoneers, not only to attend regularly to be instructed in the exercise, but in the subsequent siege to perform their duties in a respectable manner. From the 12th of August, 1780, until the 12th of February, 1783, an eventful period, during which the flower of Hyder's army were before the place, seventy-eight days of open trenches, and, after being foiled in open force, made repeated attempts to seize it by stratagem, or starve it into surrender, this officer, never once casting off his clothes at the uncertain periods of repose, not only provided the means of internal defence, but raised a little corps of cavalry for exterior enterprize; and during a protracted period of famine and diversified misery elsewhere, not only fed his own garrison, but procured important supplies for the use of the main army, for which he was justly deemed to be the centre of all correct intelligence. The model proposed by the experienced, for the imitation of the young and aspiring; the theme of general applause; honourable in private life, as he was distinguished in public conduct; the barren glory has remained to him, of preserving the letters on service, written in Sir Eyre Coote's own hand, full of affectionate attachment and admiration. Colonel Flint is living, and in London. Fancy would associate with the retirement of such a man, marks of public approbation and dignified competency: but human affairs too often reflect an inverted copy of the pictures of imagination.' Wilks. Vol. II. pp. 262—265.

The details of the war which ensued, are given more fully by the Colonel than by Mr. Mill; but, though the former avails himself of the advantages afforded him by his military knowledge, we prefer the general view afforded by the latter. We can trace in Col. Wilks, a marked partiality to his own service, and Sir Eyre Coote is so highly eulogized by him as to communicate a feeling of distrust, which we have not been able to dismiss while reading his clear and animated details of military movements. Sir Hector Monro, the first officer opposed to Hyder, though probably a good subordinate, does not seem to have been equal to the complicated duties of a superior

command. The first great event of the war was most disastrous to the English. A strong detachment under Col. Baillie, had been ordered to take a most hazardous route, in unaccountable preference to a simple movement which would have placed it safely at once in conjunction with Sir Hector Monro. The operations of Baillie are described by Mr. Mill's authorities, as able and determined; but Col. Wilks has shewn by a skilful analysis, that the movements of both commanders were a series of the grossest blunders. So incredible, in particular, was the conduct of Sir Hector, that the European officers in the Mysoor army considered Hyder as playing a desperate game, and repeatedly warned him that Monro could not but be manœuvring on his rear. This, however, was so far from his intention, that after hesitating, and adopting half measures, he halted, and retreated when only two miles interval lay between him and Baillie's detachment, which was entirely annihilated by the Mysoreans. A few were saved from slaughter by the active humanity of Messrs. Pimorin and Lally, French officers in the service of Hyder. In this extremity, Mr. Hastings, as Governor-General, felt it necessary to interfere, and to remedy as far as possible the ill effects produced by the imbecility of the Madras administration, and the incapacity of the commander, by sending from Bengal, Sir Eyre Coote, with independent powers. The events which followed, making every requisite abatement from Col. Wilks's partialities and 'vague eulogies,' were highly creditable to the skill and energy of that gallant veteran. He gained over Hyder the victory of Porto Novo, fought the dubious battle of Polliloor, and surprised and defeated Hyder at Sholinghur. These disasters seem to have exhausted the resources, and, in conjunction with other difficulties, to have depressed the mind of Hyder; and he is stated to have meditated an entire change in the conduct of the war, when his intentions were in some degree altered by the arrival of troops from France; but any further designs were cut short by his death in December, 1782. It would be scarcely practicable to compress within any reasonable limits, the various and complicated details which attended the continuance of the war under Tippoo Saheb: the manœuvres and battles between the French and English by land, the indecisive but sanguinary sea-fights between Sir Edward Hughes and the Bailli de Suffrein, the disasters of the English troops on the western territory of Mysore, the squabbles between Lord Macartney and General Stuart, the arrest of the latter by order of the former, with the dissensions between his lordship and Warren Hastings,—for all these and other particulars, we must refer to our authorities; to Mr. Mill for clear statement and vigorous sentiment, to Col. Wilks for attractive detail. On



the 11th of March, 1784, after many insults and evasions on the part of Tippoo, a treaty of peace was concluded between the Company and the Sultan.

Ever since the parliamentary enactments of 1773, which had established a Supreme Court of Judicature at Calcutta, with authority immediately emanating from the King, that Court had been in every possible way, and to the great injury both of the natives and of the Company's interests, gradually extending its authority, until at length it came into immediate contact with the Council of government. We regret exceedingly the restrictions which prevent us from quoting the powerful reasoning of Mr. Mill on this subject: the abuses were so glaring and so injurious as to call forth a new Act of parliament in regulation and diminution of the usurped powers of the Supreme Court.

In 1781, occurred the transactions with Cheyte Sing, the Rajah of Benares. The Rajah had entered into engagements with the Company, which he had faithfully kept; but he was supposed to have accumulated considerable treasure, which Hastings, pressed with financial difficulties, had marked for appropriation. He first harrassed the Rajah with vexatious applications, answered expostulation with menace, and treated remonstrance as guilt; then, visiting Benares in person, he provoked Cheyte Sing to reluctant hostilities; but, after all, he failed of the pecuniary aid which he had anticipated, since, though the unfortunate Prince was entirely ruined, whatever of treasure was derived from the plunder of his palace, became the property of the army, which refused to give up its prize-money at the requisition of the Governor-general. Disappointed in this quarter, and under the most urgent necessity for money, the fertile genius of Hastings directed him to another resource. The Nabob of Oude had been absolutely drained by repeated exactions, and had himself nothing more to give; but both the mother and the widow of the late Nabob, (the latter also the mother of the present,) were reputed to be immensely rich. Considerable jaghires, or revenues arising from assigned portions of land, had been held by them ever since the death of Suja ul Dowla, who had also bequeathed them the greater part of whatever personal wealth he possessed. Large sums had been previously extorted by the worthy Nabob from his mother and grandmother, but more remained, and Mr. Hastings was resolved to secure it. The Begums, as these aged princesses were called, were mulcted to the last rupee; their confidential eunuchs being imprisoned and tortured. This detestable transaction produced a sum of upwards of £500,000. The Governor's next step was, to extort a sum of fifteen lacs of rupees from Fyzoolla Khan, 'the chief who had survived the ruin of

'the Rohilla nation in 1774.' After a number of subordinate intrigues, he resigned his office in February, 1785. Mr. Mill, in summing up the financial results of Mr. Hastings's administration, makes it appear, that he added 'about twelve and a half millions to the debt of the East India Company,' and that 'the revenue of the Indian government, at the close of the administration of Mr. Hastings, was not equal to its ordinary expense.' The proceedings on his trial, which began in 1788, and was not concluded until 1795, are most ably analysed; and with the help of references to preceding portions of the history, a distinct and impressive, though brief account is given of their progress. In his comments upon 'lawyer-craft,' Mr. Mill is indignant, acute, and just: we wish, though hopelessly, that his representations and reasonings may not be ineffectual. We shall take this opportunity of citing the characters of Mr. Hastings, respectively given by the two Writers now before us. Our readers will remark in that of Colonel Wilks, the 'vague-ness' of which Mr. Mill complains; while in the vigorous tracing of Mr. M., they will discover all that discrimination, impartiality, and comprehensiveness, in which the Colonel's unimpressive and unsubstantiated eulogy is altogether deficient.

'In the ordinary routine of public business, the mind of Mr. Hastings, elegant, mild, and enlightened, exhibited merely a clear simplicity of means adapted to their end; it was only in the face of overwhelming danger, that, spurning the puny impediments of faction, he burst through the trammels of vulgar resource, and shewed a master spirit, fitted to grapple with every emergency, and equally capable of saving or creating an empire. The *saviour of India*, (a title conferred on this great man, by the general voice of civilized Europe,) became the convenient sacrifice to political manœuvre; a trial of seven years' duration, terminated in his honourable acquittal, at the bar of his country, of every accusation with which his character had been blackened. To the charge of oppression, an universal people made answer with their astonishment, their blessings, and their prayers. To the crime of receiving corrupt presents and clandestine extortions, equal to the price of a kingdom, he answered with poverty; and to the accusation of violating his duty to the East India Company and his country, was opposed the simple fact of preserving unimpaired, the territories committed to his charge, during a period which elsewhere exhibited nothing but national humiliation. The dregs of calumny and prejudice remained unexhausted for eighteen years, for such was the interval, after an honourable acquittal, before the tardy verdict of truth and justice, brought his wisdom and venerable age to aid in the councils of his country.' Wilks. Vol. II. p. 285.

'After the unreserved exhibition, which I have accounted it my duty to make, of the evidence which came before me of the errors and vices of Mr. Hastings's administration, it is necessary, for the



satisfaction of my own mind, and to save me from the fear of having given a more unfavourable conception than I intended of his character and conduct, to impress upon the reader the obligation of considering two things. The first is, that Mr. Hastings was placed in difficulties, and acted upon by temptations, such as few public men have been called upon to overcome: And of this the preceding history affords abundance of proof. The second is, that of no man, probably, who ever had a great share in the government of the world, was the public conduct so completely explored, and laid open to view. For the mode of transacting the business of the Company, almost wholly by writing; first, by written consultations in the Council; secondly, by written commands on the part of the Directors, and written statements of all that was done on the part of their servants in India; afforded a body of evidence, such as under no other government ever did or could exist: And this evidence was brought forward, with a completeness never before exemplified, first by the contentions of a powerful party in the Council in India; next by the inquiries of two searching committees of the House of Commons; in the third place by the production of almost every paper which could be supposed to throw light upon his conduct, during the discussions upon the proceedings relative to his impeachment in the House of Commons; lastly, by the production of papers upon the trial: all this elucidated and commented upon by the keenest spirits of the age; and for a long time without any interposition of power to screen his offences from detection. It will, probably, be found that evidence so complete never was brought to bear upon the public conduct of any great public actor before. And it is my firm conviction, that if we had the advantage of viewing the conduct of other men, who have been as much engaged in the conduct of public affairs, as completely naked, and stripped of all its disguises, as his, few of them would be found, whose character would present a higher claim to indulgence, in some respects, I think, even to applause. In point of ability, he is beyond all question the most eminent of the chief rulers whom the Company have ever employed: nor is there any one of them, who would not have succumbed under the difficulties which, if he did not overcome, he at any rate sustained. He had no genius, any more than Clive, for schemes of policy including large views of the past, and large anticipations of the future; but he was hardly ever excelled in the skill of applying temporary expedients to temporary difficulties; in putting off the evil day; and in giving a fair complexion to the present one. He had not the forward and imposing audacity of Clive; but he had a calm firmness, which usually, by its constancy, wore out all resistance. He was the first, or among the first of the servants of the Company, who attempted to acquire any language of the natives, and who set on foot those liberal inquiries into the literature and institutions of the Hindus, which have led to the satisfactory knowledge of the present day. He had that great art of a ruler, which consists in attaching to the governor those who are governed: for most assuredly his administration was popular, both with his countrymen and the natives, in Bengal.' Mill. Vol. II. pp. 683, 684.

We have now reached that important period in the Company's history, which not only introduced an entire change in its constitution, but exhibited a series of proceedings little illustrative of either the talent or the integrity of public men. It was agreed by all parties, that a more effective system for the government of India, was absolutely necessary; and in 1783, Mr. Fox brought forward his celebrated Bill, or rather Bills, professing to embrace all the changes and reform required by the occasion. Of the Bill designed to regulate the share of Indian administration which was transacted in England, the principal feature consisted in the abolition of the Courts of Proprietors and Directors as organs of government, and the substitution of seven Commissioners, who were to act as trustees for the Company, and in whom was to be vested the whole efficient direction of Indian affairs. Subordinate to these were to be appointed nine assistant Directors, selected from the body of Proprietors, to whom was assigned the affair of managing the Company's commerce. In the first instance, the Seven Commissioners were to be chosen by the Legislature, but all vacancies were to be supplied by the King. The inferior body, in the outset, was to be also named in the Act, but the filling up of vacancies, was conceded to the Proprietors. A number of subordinate regulations were made, one of which affected to provide for the publicity of the political and commercial concerns of the Company. The other Bill, which referred to the administration of affairs in Hindostan, left the machinery of government nearly as before; but an attempt was made to remedy the principal irregularities which had tended to injure its operations. The alarm which was excited throughout the nation, by the introduction of this measure, will be in the recollection of some of our readers. The Bill passed the Commons, but the King took the very extraordinary step of making a direct and menacing appeal to many of the members of the Upper House, in consequence of which, a majority of the peers defeated the plan. It is shrewdly urged by Mr. Mill, that, since the essence of Mr. Fox's Bill consisted in nothing more than the transfer of the choice of Directors, from the Proprietors of Company's stock, to the House of Commons, the conduct of the King and of the major part of the Aristocracy, amounted to the expression of 'a heartfelt conviction, 'that the House of Commons, as now constituted, is unworthy 'of trust.' He should, however, have made his argument more comprehensive; because it will, no doubt, be urged against him, that the choice of Directors was not to have been the single act of the Commons, but the concurrent enactment of the three Estates. He adds:

'The bills of Mr. Fox, many and celebrated as were the men who



united their wisdoms in their formation, manifest but a feeble effort in legislation; and afford a memorable lesson, by demonstrating that the authors of them, however they might be gifted with the art of speaking, were but little remarkable for the powers of thought. The matter of fact is, that for the right exercise of the powers of government in India, not one new security was provided; and it would not be very easy to prove that any strength was added to the old.'

The effect of this attempt was, to exclude from office, Mr. Fox and his adherents. Mr. Pitt, who succeeded them, in 1784, brought forward and carried his own more artful, but not better constructed scheme. He had the prudence to leave in appearance as before, the Courts of Directors and Proprietors, but he saddled them with a Board, nominally, of *Control*, but really, of direction and government. In addition to this organ of administration, the Bill provided, that the Directors should elect a committee of secrecy, consisting of three of their own body, with whom the Board of Control might, in affairs of exigency, communicate without reference to the Direction at large. The Act also materially abridged the privileges of the Court of Proprietors, by taking from it the power of interfering with any act of the Directors which should have been sanctioned by the Board of Control. Provision was made for ascertaining the fortunes realised in India by public officers; and a new court of justice was established for the trial, in England, of offences committed in India by the servants of the Company. All these provisions are severely sifted by Mr. Mill, and, with the exception of the fourth, shewn to be inefficient for the purpose of good government, being adapted only to increase the power of the Minister, by giving him the privilege of constant and effectual interference, and by lodging the means of opposition and counteraction in fewer and feebler hands. The following is his comment on that part of the Act which relates to the establishment of a new tribunal of justice.

'The subservience of the judges of the common law courts to the minister, or to the master of the minister, is the doctrine of one of the most remarkable parts of the British constitution; the trial by jury. If it were not for the wrong bias to which the judges of England are liable, and all biases are trifling compared with the bias towards the Court, the institution of a jury would not only be useless, but hurtful. And if this be the doctrine of the constitution, there is assuredly none of its doctrines which an experience more full and complete, an experience more nearly unvarying, can be adduced to confirm.'

The very first important act of the new Board under the presidency of Henry Dundas, was a glaring specimen of the purposes to which it was likely to be made subservient. Transactions of a most palpably nefarious kind, into the particulars of

which it is unnecessary for us to enter, had taken place in India, in consequence of which, the Nabob of Arcot had contracted an immense nominal debt to certain individuals. In opposition to the sense of the nation, the expressed opinion of the Court of Directors, and the plain justice of the case, Mr. Dundas ordered, and persisted in his injunctions, in defiance of expostulation, that these scandalous debts should be sanctioned by the Company, and discharged by the Nabob, without any examination. Burke, in a justly celebrated speech, traced all this to 'that black and baneful source of all our misgovernment, and 'almost all our misery, *Parliamentary influence*.' Paul Benfield, one of the principal creditors of the Nabob, 'made no 'fewer than *eight* members' in one Parliament!!

Warren Hastings was succeeded by the senior member of council, Mr. Macpherson. The history of this gentleman is singular, and requires an explanation which we have not the means of obtaining. He had been dismissed by the Council of Madras, as a man engaged in intrigues 'detrimental' to the Company's interests, but the Directors thought proper to restore him to the service, and he ultimately became Governor-general. His administration, however, was brief, for, in 1786, Lord Cornwallis reached India with full powers and ample instructions. The great object to which the new Governor-general seems to have had his views directed from the very commencement of his rule, was, war with Tippoo, whose talents, as well as actual power, seem, to the very last, to have been overrated by the imaginations of Englishmen. To meet this supposed inheritor of the subtlety and energy of Hyder Ali, much preparation was necessary; and the negotiations with the Nizam, and the different arrangements made by his Lordship, all had reference to the anticipated struggle. The crisis was delayed till the beginning of 1790, when the attack made by Tippoo on the Rajah of Travancore, our ally, appeared to present the expected opportunity, and Lord Cornwallis determined to seize it. The first operations against Mysore, were baffled by the activity of the Sultan, who attacked different divisions in detail, broke through their chain of communication, and compelled them to abandon the plan of the campaign. In 1791, Cornwallis in person, putting himself at the head of the army, entered Mysore by a different route, and reached Bangalore, with little opposition, on the 5th of March. On the 7th, the Pettah, or town, was stormed, and a strong exertion made for its recovery by the Sultan, repulsed; and on the night of the 21st, the citadel was carried by assault. After some time spent in necessary preparation, the army moved, and near Arikera, obtained an indecisive victory over the army of Tippoo, to whom Col. Wilks awards the praise of 'seeing his ground,



‘and executing his movements, with a degree of promptitude  
‘and judgement, which would have been creditable to any officer.’  
The intended siege of Seringapatam was, however, prevented  
by the utter failure of the equipments, and the defective commissariat of the English army; so that, after rendering his battering train useless, the English general retreated on Bangalore. Every effort was made to restore the effectiveness of the army, and to provide against the recurrence of disaster: the Bringaries\* were employed in the transport of provisions; large convoys of stores and treasure entered the camp in splendid procession; hill-forts, literally impregnable, were stormed almost without loss, and the road to Seringapatam laid completely open. On the first of February, Cornwallis, at the head of probably the best appointed army that had ever manœuvred on Indian soil, advanced on his final purpose; and in five days’ march, reached his ground before the capital of Mysore. That fortress is situated in an island formed by two branches of the Cavery, ‘which, after separating to a distance of a mile and a half, again unite, about four miles below the place of their separation.’ Under the walls of his capital, Tippoo had established his army in a camp fortified by strong redoubts, and rendered difficult of access by the nature of the ground. A large army and a numerous artillery, defended this strong position, and the Sultan calculated on keeping his enemies at bay until the want of supplies and the rainy season, should compel them to retreat. Cornwallis, however, felt no disposition to let the grass grow under his feet, and on the night of the sixth, he stormed the Sultan’s lines. The service was skilfully planned, and gallantly executed: the Sultan’s troops were driven into the city with a loss, in killed, wounded, and missing, of twenty-three thousand men, of whom more than three fourths had seized the opportunity to desert. Preparations for the immediate siege of Seringapatam, induced Tippoo to make overtures to the besiegers; and on the 23d of February, preliminaries were signed, stipulating the cession of half his territories, and the payment of a large sum of money.

We regret that the length to which this article has extended, precludes our giving a detailed abstract of the masterly chapters in which Mr. Mill investigates the financial and judicial reforms introduced by Lord Cornwallis. His Lordship, aided by the knowledge and talents of Mr. Shore, the present Lord Teignmouth, fixed on the Zemindar as the proprietor of the soil, on the payment of a fixed and unalterable land-tax. This was in accordance with his original instructions from England; and the

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\* Described in our Review of the Bombay Transactions, E. R. Vol. xi. p. 433.

term of ten years was named as an adequate period for the fair trial of the scheme. Lord Cornwallis, however, in opposition to the sound advice and forcible reasoning of Mr. Shore, and notwithstanding the deficiency of his information, rashly and precipitately insisted on the necessity of making the arrangement perpetual; and with at least equal rashness and precipitancy, the Directors and the Ministry in England resolved to act upon his recommendation. The object was, to establish a landed aristocracy in the persons of the Zemindars; a project which Mr. Mill affirms to have 'completely failed,' and it is obvious, from the circumstances of the case, that it could not but fail. The alterations introduced into the judicial system, were, if possible, still less successful. Instead of enlightening the minds of the natives by the promulgation of a code, giving them simple and distinct definitions of their rights; instead of giving them courts of justice unshackled by technical rules and the iniquitous mysteries of 'lawyer-craft;' instead of arranging a system distinguished by 'clearness, certainty, promptitude, 'cheapness,' and by a well-graduated scale of punishments; the European legislators for India, gave their subjects a heterogeneous compound of English and Mahomedan law, so ingeniously contrived as to combine the leading defects of both. The opinions of the most enlightened and honourable of those who have been entrusted with the dispensation of justice in our Eastern possessions, and of Sir Henry Strachey in particular, run strongly in counter-current to this mischievous system. Civil suits are tedious, doubtful, and expensive; and the penal code is erroneous both in deficiency and in excess. The consequences are, the prevalence of litigiousness from the facilities afforded to knavery, and the prevalence of crime from the viciousness of the law and the defectiveness of the police. The remedies are clear: first, as before suggested, the concession of an intelligible and equitable code, with a prompt and effectual practice of law; secondly, colonization. The effects of that 'illiberal, cowardly, and short-sighted policy' which has withheld from Englishmen the privilege of settling in India as landowners and manufacturers, has also withheld from the natives the inestimable benefits of their instruction and their influence. Under a different system, they would have been at this very time, what the Zemindars can never be, the country gentlemen and magistrates of Hindostan. The servants of the Company are too much engrossed by their various official duties, to acquire much knowledge of the native habits and character: if, therefore, colonization be too bold a measure for feeble minds, private traders and officers of sepoy, mingling with the inhabitants, and studying their manners and language, would be the fittest persons for magistracy and superintendence.



In 1793, Lord Cornwallis returned to England, leaving, after all his reforms and all his acquisitions of territory, the financial affairs of the Company in a somewhat worse state than they were left in by Hastings. In the same year, the charter of the Company was renewed. On this occasion, and while condemning the transfer of power and patronage from the Directors to the Ministers of the Crown, Mr. Mill introduces the following important and impressive remarks, which we cannot forbear from citing.

‘To communicate the whole of the impression made upon a mind which has taken a survey of the government of India, by the East India Company, more completely through the whole field of its action, than was ever taken by any body before, and which has not spared to bring forward into the same light the unfavourable and the favourable points, it is necessary for me to state; and this I conceive to be the most convenient occasion for stating, That, in regard to *intention*, I know no government, either in past or present times, that can be placed upon a level with that of the East India Company; That I can hardly point out an occasion on which the schemes they have adopted, and even the particular measures they pursued, were not by themselves considered as conducive to the welfare of the people whom they governed; That I know no government which has on all occasions shown so much of a disposition to make sacrifices of its own interests to the interests of the people whom it governed, and which has, in fact, made so many and such important sacrifices; That, if the East India Company have been so little successful in ameliorating the practical operation of their government, it has been owing chiefly to the disadvantage of their situation, distant a voyage of several months from the scene of action, and to that imperfect knowledge which was common to them with almost all their countrymen; But that they have never erred so much, as when, distrusting their own knowledge, they have followed the directions of men whom they unhappily thought wiser than themselves, Statesmen, and Lawyers; And that, lastly, in the highly important point of the servants, or subordinate agents of government, there is nothing in the world to be compared with the East India Company, whose servants, as a body, have for a long time exhibited a portion of talent which puts to shame the ill-chosen instruments of other governments; and, except in some remarkable instances, as that of the loan transaction with the Nabob of Arcot, have exhibited a degree of virtue, which, under the temptations to which they were exposed, is worthy of the highest praise.’ Vol. III. pp. 373, 374.

The succeeding periods of the Company's history, come more within the general recollection. The administration of Sir John Shore was pacific; in the instance of the war between the Nizam and the Mahrattas, pacific to a somewhat questionable excess. His *intended* policy towards the family of Fyzoollah Khan, if correctly stated, was in all views injurious. Neither does he appear to advantage in the severe examination of

his management of the deposition of Vizir Ali of Oude; though Mr. Mill strongly expresses his conviction of the Governor-general's 'sincerity and his desire to do justice.' In 1798, commenced the career of war, victory, and territorial acquisition, which distinguished the administration of Lord Mornington, afterwards Marquis Wellesley. The determination still further to diminish, or to destroy, the crippled power of Tippoo Sultan, was so soon taken up and acted upon, as to awaken the suspicion that it was less the result of fresh occurrences than of previous arrangement. The first step towards active hostilities, was, the disarming of a large body of natives, disciplined and commanded by French officers in the service of the Nizam. The next measure was, to move directly upon Seringapatam, a force of strength sufficient to render opposition hopeless. Tippoo, in the mean time, after striking a blow at the Bombay division of the British forces, which compelled it to concentrate and to recede for a season, returned to meet the grand army under General Harris, from whom he sustained a severe repulse in an action near Malvilly. His subsequent plans for harrassing his opponents having failed, the Sultan called together his officers; 'We have arrived,' said he, 'at our last stage: what is your determination?' 'To die with you,' was the unanimous reply; and it was resolved to give battle with desperate determination on victory or death.

'Every person present,' says Col. Wilks, 'was deeply affected by the solemn air and visible distress of their sovereign; and one of the chiefs, with a heart too full for ordinary self-command, on taking leave, prostrated himself at the Sultaun's feet and embraced them, the ceremony usual among Hindoos and Mahommedans, on taking leave for a long absence. The Sultaun dissolved into tears, the whole assembly caught the infection, all followed the example and reiterated the voice of the first chief, and the ceremonial and declarations of the day indicated a reciprocal adieu for the last time in this world.'

The plan, however, was frustrated by the unexpected movements of General Harris, who took up his ground without opposition. The batteries were opened, a breach effected, and on the 4th of May, 1799, Seringapatam was carried by assault. Tippoo, whatever opinion may be formed of his previous conduct, died like a gallant soldier in the defence of his last possession. Though often wavering and erroneous in his judgement, he was, at least, not deficient in courage; but his spirit seems to have been broken down by the calamities of his later days. Little as we are disposed to sympathize with such a man, it is impossible not to be deeply affected with the last scenes of his life, as delineated in the interesting pages of Col. Wilks. It is, however, a fault in the Colonel, that he betrays on all oc-



casions, a disposition to exhibit the Sultan in the worst light; and we have no doubt that Mr. Mill has taken a much fairer view of his character, when he describes him as mentally active, acute, and ingenious, and, for an Eastern prince, full of knowledge. Admitting the Sultan's deficiency in judgement, and his erroneous perception of the value of objects, whether considered as means or as ends, and allowing that the original and educational defects of his mind, had increased with his years and his misfortunes, it is clear that he was indefatigable in business, that his country was flourishing and well-cultivated, and that his domestic rule was beneficial. His imputed harshness and cruelty to his servants, is, in part at least, disproved by the exemplary fidelity with which they adhered to his desperate fortunes. General Baird and the officers who led the assault, notwithstanding some provocations to a rigorous severity, treated the family of Tippoo with the utmost tenderness. We are here again tempted from our resolution not to multiply our extracts, by the following admirable and well expressed sentiments

'The mind dwells with peculiar delight upon these instances in which the sweet sympathies which one human being has with another, and which are of infinite importance in private life, prevail over the destructive passions, alternately the cause, and consequence, of war. The pleasure, at the same time, which we feel in conceiving the emotions produced in such a scene, lead the bulk of mankind to overvalue greatly the virtues which they imply. When you have glutted upon your victim the passions of ambition and revenge; when you have reduced him from greatness and power, to the weakness and dependance which mark the insect on which you tread; a few tears, and the restraint of the foot from the final stamp, are not a very arduous virtue. The grand misfortune is to be made an insect. When that is done, it is a slight if any addition to your misfortunes to be crushed at once. The virtue to which exalted praise would be due, and to which human nature is gradually ascending, would be to restrain in time the selfish desires which hurry us on to the havoc we are vain of contemplating with a sort of pity after we have made it. Let not the mercy, however, be slighted, which is shewn even to the victim we have made. It is so much gained for human nature. It is a gain which, however late, the progress and diffusion of philosophy at last have produced; they will in time produce other and greater results.' Vol. III. pp. 441, 442.

Philosophy!—why not religion? Mr. Mill conducts himself with perfect fairness and propriety: he never stoops to speak disrespectfully of Christianity, and we have no right to infer that he feels any hostility towards it, but this is not exactly the first instance in which he has laid himself open to the suspicion of a preference for that slippery and evanescent thing called 'philosophy.' Be it so; his opinions are his own, and further intrusion would be inconsistent with delicacy and right feeling;

but he will pardon us for saying that the *talis cum sis* is most strongly impressed on our wishes and on our hopes.

Under the active government of Marquis Wellesley, the business of aggrandizement and deposition proceeded with great alacrity and success. The Nabobs of Surat and Arcot, the Rajah of Tanjore, and the Nabob of Furruckabad, were compelled to resign the civil and military government of their dominions into the hands of the Company. The Vizir of Oude was shorn of more than half his territories. And all these glaring applications of the law of the strongest, were gravely defended by the Governor-general, on the principles of policy and equity, in state-papers of formidable length. His next measures entangled him in all the intricacies of Mahratta politics, and involved his masters in all the expenses of a war on an extensive scale. With a view to acquire an ascendancy in the councils of the Peshwa, and ultimately the control of the Mahratta States, Lord Wellesley, after much negotiation and intrigue, succeeded in concluding the treaty of Bassein with the nominal head of the Mahratta power. By this treaty, the Peshwa placed himself under the protection of the British troops, and was by them re-established in his capital, after he had been compelled to quit it by the hostility of Scindia, a powerful Mahratta chief. These transactions led to an alliance between Scindia and the Rajah of Berar, against the encroachments of the English, and finally to open war. The first warlike measures of the Governor-general were directed against a large force in the service of Scindia, disciplined and commanded by French officers. The dispersion of this army was effected by Lord Lake in the battles of Allyghur and Delhi; and the action of Laswaree completed the dissolution of Scindia's power in the North of Hindostan. In the South, General Wellesley, the present Duke of Wellington, had been equally successful. The hard-fought battle of Assaye, and the victory of Argaum, broke the united strength of the Rajah and Scindia, and enabled the Marquis to dictate his own terms. War with Holkar, another Mahratta chief, followed hard on this. He struggled desperately, and in some respects skilfully, against the overwhelming force of his antagonists; but was ultimately reduced to helpless extremity. The Governor-general had made his own arrangements: he exacted large cessions of territory from the conquered princes, and by a system of defensive alliances with the Rajahs on the Jumna, covered the frontiers of the Company's Gangetic dominions. The Directors, however, and the Ministry, had taken the alarm. The Governor-general had overlooked in the magnificence of his views, the equally magnificent expense at which alone they could be realised. The accumulation of debt became oppressive, while the acquisition of territory was regard-



ed as a very dubious benefit. Lord Cornwallis accepted the appointment of Governor-general for the second time; and though 'bending under years and infirmities,' departed for India in the hope of remedying much of what he considered as injurious policy. In 1805, he reached Calcutta, and immediately entered upon what appears to us a most impolitic series of transactions.

We certainly regard the policy of Marquis Wellesley as in every point of view indefensible, as little less than ruinous to the Company's concerns. But the steps having been once taken, the territorial arrangements actually made, and the alliances formed, it was of most mischievous consequence to retract and to reject, as Cornwallis thought it wise to do, without stipulation or security. To Scindia, his Lordship resigned every point in dispute; to Holkar, he restored the whole of his dominions; and, certainly in violation of pledged faith, he resolved to give up the connexion with the minor princes on the Jumna, thus abandoning them to the rapacity of the Mahrattas. Before, however, these arrangements could be completed, the health of Lord Cornwallis gave way, and on the 5th of October, 1805, he expired. Sir George Barlow, the senior member of council, succeeded him, and completed his plans.

We have thought that this rapid analysis of the mass of information contained in the works before us, would be upon the whole the most satisfactory method of conveying to our readers, a just idea of their value and interest; but our adherence to this plan has compelled us to abstain from deviating into general discussions, and we have now no space left for further remark. Highly as we rate the excellent production of Colonel Wilks, it is, however, due to Mr. Mill, to express our sense of the peculiar obligations under which he has laid the public by his more comprehensive and masterly work. The immense labour which he must have bestowed upon the compilation, and digest, and collation of the huge pile of his materials, has been well bestowed. Although we have not always been convinced by his reasonings, yet, his statements are uniformly entitled to the merit of great caution and unimpeachable accuracy. This, in an historian, is perhaps the highest praise, because it implies much more than the veracity of a witness. In forming correct general views of the events he undertakes to narrate, in discriminating the weight of evidence, and in summing up the results of complicated and perhaps conflicting details, the historian is required to exhibit the accuracy of a judge. A competent writer of history, must have no ordinary share of acuteness of faculty; he must have been trained to habits of slow and patient thinking; he must be at least metaphysician enough to avoid a premature generalizing of details, the constant tendency of common minds,

and one of the most fertile sources of inaccuracy ; and he must unite to the spirit of philosophic inquiry, no inconsiderable share of the philosophic temper. These requisites, Mr. Mill appears characteristically to possess ; and it is particularly fortunate that his attention has been directed to a branch of our History, which it called for the eminent discharge of such abilities to rescue from the almost chaotic state in which he found it. He has taken ground on which he is safe from all literary competitors ; and the work by which he has supplied so important a *desideratum*, of whatever correction it may prove to be on some points susceptible, will assuredly never be superseded.

The volumes are in every respect well got up. Two excellent maps are prefixed, and there is a good index. It has occurred to us, however, that a chronological index framed on the excellent plan of Sismondi, in his History of the Italian Republics, would form a valuable addition, and would tend materially to simplify the somewhat involved series of Indian history.

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Art. III. *An Analysis of the Fifth Book of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, being a particular Defence of the Church of England. Designed principally for the Use of Candidates for Holy Orders. By the Rev. B. Kennicott, A. B. Perpetual Curate of Monkwearmouth, and late of Oriel College, Oxford. 8vo. pp. 139. London. 1819.*

**T**HERE have been published at different periods, several abridgements or analyses of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity. The most recent, and we believe the most complete, is the "Analysis" of the Eight Books, by the Rev. J. Collinson, Rector of Gateshead, Durham, published in 1810 ; the design of which was, 'to give a more popular and familiar form' to the principles contained in the original. The present publication is little more than an analytical index of that part of Hooker's work which the Author has selected as constituting an entire and distinct treatise in defence of the ritual and ecclesiastical order of the Episcopal Church of England. To persons who have read, and are in the habit of consulting, the original, the use of such a summary for the purpose of reference, is obvious ; and, viewed in this light, no objection will lie against the meagreness of the outline. But, to the student who wishes to make himself master of its contents, Mr. Kennicott's Analysis should be recommended as a model for imitation, rather than as a work for use. The time and labour required for drawing up such an abstract, would be well compensated. We question whether there ever was produced an abridgement of a standard work, which yielded perfect satisfaction to persons conversant with the text of the original. A reader is sure to find slurred over, some of the points which seemed to him to deserve a dis-



tinct exposition, and to miss altogether many of the most striking passages, on account of their refusing to come into the general summary of the section under which they are to be found, not being integral parts of the argument. This remark applies with particular force to Hooker, whose most admirable passages are those in which he shakes off the shackles of controversy, and launches forth into disquisitions very remotely connected with the design of his treatise. The fund of historical learning, too, and theological knowledge, which is contained in the *Ecclesiastical Polity*, no abridgement or analysis can pretend to convey. But above all, that which constitutes the chief excellence of the work, the majesty of the style, the noble sentiments with which it abounds, and the spirit of piety by which the Author is often borne away far above the level of his subject, must be sought for in the pages of the original.

Of the numbers who boast of Hooker as the champion of Episcopacy, a very small proportion have, we apprehend, accomplished the perusal of even the first five books of his great work. To them, the present Analysis will be serviceable, should it induce them to enter upon or to prosecute the task. For our own part, we could not derive greater pleasure from reading him, were we never so firmly attached to the ecclesiastical system which he advocates; and the perusal never fails to call up our regret that it has so rarely fallen to the lot of Dissenters, to meet with an opponent of equal candour and calmness of temper. The study of Hooker by those who ought to consider it as a disgrace not to have studied him, would have a most beneficial effect, should it superinduce upon them any portion of his mildness and suavity, but more especially, should it imbue the reader with his sentiments of elevated piety.

Hooker has not always been fortunate in his encomiasts. It is a little singular to find the Author of the present Analysis quoting the panegyric of *Pope Clement VIII.* as a recommendation of a Defence of the Church of England to the English clergy. The anecdote is given in Walton's *Life of Hooker*. Pope Clement VIII. had said, we are told, that he had never met with an English book whose writer deserved the name of an author; a fact which is easily explained by recollecting that our early writers wrote for the most part in Latin, and that his Holiness could not be expected to have an extensive acquaintance with the writings of heretics. When Hooker's four first books appeared, Cardinal Allen and Dr. Stapleton, both Englishmen, mentioned them, therefore, to the Pope, saying, that 'a poor obscure English priest had writ four such books of Laws and Church Polity, and in a style that expressed so grave and such humble majesty, with clear demonstration of reason, that in all their readings they had not met with any that exceeded him.' The



Pope desired Dr. Stapleton to read to him the first book in Latin, and when it was concluded, he exclaimed: 'There is no learning that this man hath not searched into, nothing too hard for his understanding. This man indeed deserves the name of an author. His books will get reverence by age, for there is in them such seeds of eternity that if the rest be like this, they shall last till the last fire shall consume all learning.'

The Pope might be a competent judge of the learning displayed in Hooker's work, and learning was at that time the test of competent authorship; otherwise, the papal encomium would be worth little. A more equivocal commendation of his labours, has been subsequently furnished by the pen of Royalty. James II. affirms that his conversion to Popery originated in the perusal of Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*. It was, we know, the favourite book of his father, who enjoined his son, afterwards Charles II. to study it next to the Bible; and so he did, doubtless, *next* to the Bible. James I. had also passed upon it a just and discriminate encomium; for James, with all his pedantry, was a learned man. Hooker deserves, however, to be vindicated from the conclusions which might readily be drawn from these royal panegyrics. So far from being the advocate of the political principles upon which the Stuart kings modelled their government, Mr. Hume has remarked, that the precious spark of liberty which was 'kept alive among the Puritans, glows in his pages with a clearness and fervour that have never been exceeded.' Mr. Collinson remarks, in the preface to his *Analysis*, that whoever turns to Mr. Locke's *Essay on Government*, will find that the sentiments of that celebrated writer, are an edifice avowedly built on the foundation which Hooker laid, whose words he continually quotes. 'Thus,' he adds, 'the *Ecclesiastical Polity* is one of the fountain heads of those principles which produced our free and happy constitution.' Hooker, it should be recollected, lived a century before Mr. Locke, and under the government of Elizabeth; the boldness of his opinions is therefore the more extraordinary. He constantly inculcates, that power originally rests with the body of the people, and is derived from them to one or more rulers according to their choice; and that there can be no lawful government without consent of the governed, given by themselves or their representatives. He affirms, that the power which is 'bestowed at men's discretions,' is 'likewise' held by 'Divine right;' by which, he clearly cuts up by the root, the pretence of a claim to power founded distinctively upon Divine right, as opposed to an authority founded upon the consent of the governed, or bestowed at men's discretion. 'To live by one man's law,' he elsewhere remarks, 'is the cause of all men's misery;' and, 'Utterly without our consent we are at the command of no man living.' Again: 'Every

'nation or collective multitude has naturally no superior under God.' And, 'Laws they are not which public approbation hath not made so.' It is difficult to reconcile the reverence which Charles I. expressed for such a writer, with the contrary tenor of his whole public conduct. Is it possible that his recommending Hooker next to the Bible to his son's studious perusal, proceeded from the conviction that he had lost his kingdom by disregarding the principles for which Hooker contends,—by reversing the axiom on which that Writer represents our monarchical government to be founded, *Lex facit regem*?

It may sound like a paradox to assert that Hooker is not a high-church writer. Such, however, so far as regards his politics, is the fact. It would not be equally easy, to exonerate him from having given occasion for the compliment of the royal convert to Popery. If by Popery, indeed, we understand the supremacy of the Pope, the worship of the Virgin Mary, and the meritorious efficacy of human works, no charge could be more unfounded than that of Hooker's favouring such tenets. Upon all these points, he is a zealous and consistent Protestant. But, regarding the basis—perhaps we may say the essence—of Popery, as the assumption of authority in matters of religion by that which claims the designation of the Church, the tendency of Hooker's reasonings appears to us to be directly favourable to the principles of the Romish religion. The radical fallacy of his reasonings, lies in his cardinal principle, that the Church of Christ is a political society, and that, as members of that society, we become subject to human positive laws; which it is obviously the design of his first book to establish. Pope Clement must have heard announced with no ordinary satisfaction, the admission of a Protestant writer, that 'Men's private fancies must give place to the higher judgement of the Church, which is in authority a mother over them,' and that 'the orders of the holy fathers' claim to be received as 'the positive laws of the Church of Christ.\*' With high approbation he must have listened to the judicious Hooker, when, as an illustration of this principle, he cites the Apostolic decree concerning abstinence from things strangled and from blood, as a precedent for ecclesiastical legislation, more particularly in reference to fastings, one of the grand ordinances of the Romish church; for 'so,' he contends, 'the very actions of whole churches, have, in regard of fellowship and commerce with other churches, been subject to laws concerning food, the contrary unto which laws had else

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\* In the fifth book occurs a similar assertion. 'That which the Church by her ecclesiastical authority shall publicly think and define to be true and good, must in congruity of reason overrule all inferior judgements whatsoever.'



‘been thought more convenient for them to observe.’ But had his Holiness proceeded to the third book, what terms of sufficient praise could he have found for the Author, on meeting with the precious quibble, that ‘those things which men find out by help of that light which God hath given them for that purpose,’ are ‘of God,’ not less than things supernaturally revealed; and therefore, that a form of church polity, though ‘not set down in Scripture,’ may be considered as having God for its author? According to this position, confessedly human enactments in matters of religion, may claim to be derived from God, though they receive no sanction from his revealed will; and this sentiment, the Rev. Mr. Collinson, in the work before mentioned, particularly recommends to the deliberate consideration of ‘all who are inclined to reject human ordinances in matters of religion.’ Surely, no Church could possibly desire a more ample basis for its assumed authority, or a more convenient latitude of ‘discretion,’ than is furnished by this sophism. ‘It is no more disgrace to the Scriptures,’ we are told, ‘to have left a number of things free to be ordered at the discretion of the Church, than for Nature to have left it to the wit of man to devise his own attire, and not to look for it as the beasts of the field have theirs!’ One cannot but smile at the grave admission, that the laws of the Church are ‘ill-made,’ when they are not consonant with the general laws of nature, or when they are in direct contradiction to any positive law in Scripture. But this truism is only to clear the ground for the following assertion. ‘Unto laws thus made and received by a whole Church, they which live within the bosom of that Church, must not think it a matter indifferent either to yield, or not to yield obedience. Is it a small offence to despise the Church of God? “My son, keep thy father’s commandment,” saith Solomon, “and forget not thy mother’s instruction: bind them both always about thine heart.” It doth not stand with the duty which we owe to our Heavenly Father, that to the ordinances of our Mother the Church, we should shew ourselves disobedient. Let us not say we keep the commandments of the one, when we break the law of the other; for unless we observe, both we obey neither. . . . . Yea, the laws thus made, God doth himself in such sort authorize, as that to despise them is to despise him.’ After reprobating the ‘loose and licentious opinion of the Anabaptists,’ that ‘the Church of Christ should admit no law-makers but the Evangelists,’ Hooker proceeds to the iteration of the sophism above referred to. ‘The author of that which causeth another thing to be, is author of that thing also which thereby is caused. The light of natural understanding, wit and reason, is from God; he it is which thereby doth illuminate every man entering into the world. If there



‘ proceed from us any thing afterwards corrupt or naught, the mother thereof is our own darkness, neither doth it proceed from any such cause whereof God is the author. He is the author of all we think or do, by virtue of that light which himself hath given. And therefore the very laws which the heathen did gather to direct their actions by, so far forth as they proceed from the light of nature, God himself doth acknowledge to have proceeded even from himself, and that he was the writer of them in the tables of their hearts. How much more then is he the author of those laws which have been made by his saints, endued further with the heavenly grace of his spirit, and directed as much as might be with such instructions as his sacred word doth yield. If they have God for their author, contempt which is offered unto them, cannot choose but redound unto him.’

It would be hard to select from any Romish casuist, a specimen of more flimsy and pernicious argumentation than this. Higher pretensions the Church of Rome could not advance, that mother of all mother Churches, than to claim for her ordinances an authority equal to that of the commandments of God; nor could she wish for a better plea than that of having God for the author of human laws. Hooker, whatever our readers may by this time think of his being entitled, *the judicious*, was too ingenuous, too sincere, and too pious a man, to be capable of wilful sophistry, much less of any grosser species of misrepresentation. But when we call to mind what sort of persons they have been for the most part, who have framed and enacted laws of ecclesiastical polity, and to whom the Church has been indebted for the invention of human ordinances in matters of religion, to hear them characterized as ‘ saints endued with the heavenly grace of God’s spirit, and directed as much as might be by his word,’ must excite an emotion of indignation which it requires an effort to repress. Was the Holy Spirit the author of the intolerant canons of the English Church? Were those the decrees of his saints?

Once more, in the conclusion of this same book, which has been pronounced ‘ a masterly defence of the province of reason in religion,’ Hooker thus maintains the prerogative of the clergy. ‘ Hereupon we hold, that God’s clergy are a state which hath been and will be, as long as there is a church upon earth, necessarily by the plain word of God himself; a state whereunto the rest of God’s people must be subject, as touching things that appertain to their soul’s health. For where polity is, it cannot but appoint some to be leaders of others, and some to be led by others. “ If the blind lead the blind, they both perish.” It is with the clergy, if their persons be respected, even as it is with other men; their quality many times far beneath that

‘ which the dignity of their place requireth. Howbeit, according to the order of polity, they being “ the lights of the world,” others (though better and wiser) must that way be subject unto them.’ This is one of the passages which we find passed over in Mr. Collinson’s Analysis. It is, however, highly deserving of notice : though cautiously worded, it involves, in connexion with the doctrine of the preceding sections as to the Divine authority of such ‘ order of polity,’ notions in perfect harmony with the ambitious claims of the Romish clergy, to a dominion abhorred by the Gospel of Christ.

That an individual already biassed in favour of the Church of Rome, should have his prejudices confirmed, and his conversion completed, by the perusal of Hooker’s Ecclesiastical Polity, will not now, we think, appear astonishing. But we have not yet arrived at that part of the work which contains the application of these principles to the sacraments and ceremonies of the Church. Hooker’s fifth book is professedly a defence of the rites of the Church of England ; not only are his principles capable, however, of being extended so as to serve the purpose of the Romanist, but ‘ the religion of cathedrals,’ as Popery has aptly been christened, receives from him, in several passages, the friendly tribute of a passing eulogy. On the subject of the sacraments, of fasts and festivals, he substantially symbolizes with the Romanists. He expressly disclaims the axiom that ‘ in outward things belonging to the service of God, reformed churches ought by all means to shun conformity with the Church of Rome.’ Speaking of the dedication of churches, he contends that ‘ it is no impossible thing but that sometimes idolaters may judge rightly what is decent about such external affairs of God, as, in greater things, what is true.’ He vindicates the sumptuousness of such edifices ; affirming, that ‘ the very majesty and holiness of the place where God is worshipped, hath, in regard of us, great virtue, force and efficacy, for that it serveth as a sensible help to stir up devotion, and in that respect *bettereth even our holiest and best actions* in that kind.’ He makes most respectful reference to the ancient custom of Christian processions to the tombs of martyrs, though he reprobates the superstitious practice of invoking saints in processions, which grew out of it. Other venerable customs of the ancient Church, such as the naming of Churches after ‘ the blessed Virgin,’ apostles, saints, and martyrs, he also vindicates from the uncharitable misrepresentations of Protestant zealots. Lastly, he calls, in the name of the Church, for oblations, foundations, endowments, and tithes, all intended for the perpetuity of religion ; for churches also, and ornaments of churches, and lands ; and defends the ample distribution of the privileges of non-residence and pluralities. Such are the sentiments of the Author of the Ecclesiastical Polity. Surely, it must



have been when his mind was heated by the recent perusal of this famous defence of the Church of England, that good Mr. Wix first conceived the idea of a council to be *holden* for the accommodation of all differences between that Church and the Church of Rome.

But is it not remarkable, that a writer who, in relation to matters of civil polity, discovers so just a sense of the rights of mankind, and so decided a hatred of usurpation and tyranny, should be the advocate of a scheme of ecclesiastical dominion utterly subversive of the most sacred rights of man, the rights of conscience? Not more so, than that the devoted members of the Romish communion should have frequently stood foremost in national contests for civil liberty. Wheresoever the interests of the Church have been kept separate from those of the Crown, the clergy have always formed an important check upon the royal prerogative, throwing their weight into the scale of popular influence. That there is nothing in Popery itself incompatible with the spirit of liberty, the history of the Italian Republics, as well as that of the Swiss Cantons, amply testifies. To whom indeed, do we owe our Magna Charta, but to our Roman Catholic ancestors? Wherever the Church and the State are not in that close alliance which takes place when the acknowledged supremacy of both resides in one head, the clergy form a sort of aristocracy in the country, whose strength of influence renders them quite as formidable a body as the nobility and landed proprietors. In the days of Elizabeth, the claims of the sovereign to ecclesiastical supremacy, were still disputed by many who did not dare openly oppose the assumption of them; and the spirit of resistance occasionally broke forth in her half-converted Protestant clergy. Hooker zealously contends for the royal supremacy, but he is careful to stipulate with equal explicitness for the independent authority and inalienable rights of the Church. The Presbyterian clergy of Scotland, widely different as was their scheme of ecclesiastical polity from that which Hooker advocates, carried their pretensions to Divine authority as high as the Episcopal clergy of England; nor were their notions much more tolerant. The right of private judgement has always, indeed, been in as great danger from established Presbyterianism, as from established Episcopacy. Yet, when their country's liberties were attacked, and their own religious rights invaded, the ministers of the Kirk discovered an invincible patriotism; and to their intrepidity is mainly attributable the successful issue of the contest. What is termed a hatred of all unlawful power, of usurpation, oppression, and tyranny, is nothing more, after all, than a jealous sense of independent rights and privileges, exerting itself in a resistance to encroachment. The existence of separate and counterbalancing, yet not opposite inte-

rests in the several great classes of national society, is the source and the safeguard of a people's liberties. Now, a keen sense of political rights, may obviously consist with the loftiest claims to spiritual domination on the part of an ecclesiastical body which forms one of those classes; and the love of liberty in that body, will generally exist in an inverse proportion to its dependence upon the Crown. Hooker writes like a whig; he might have been a Papist notwithstanding that. But his political sentiments have for a long time ceased to be in fashion among the clergy. King William's bishops have been succeeded by men of another party; and two only, it is believed, of the present Bench, are held guilty of belonging to that political school.

In perusing Hooker's work, however, one is glad to forget alike his politics and his party, his papal and his royal panegyrists, and to surrender one's self without reserve to the intellectual luxury of converse with so towering a mind. Hooker is the eldest of that tribe of powerful spirits, whose appearance at nearly the same period, forms a golden era in our language; a race of literary giants, whose ponderous weapons are gazed upon with admiration as proofs of the muscular energy of the arm that wielded them, but which in these degenerate times it costs an effort to lift: without a metaphor, what that age produced, it is, in this, esteemed a labour to peruse. The *Ecclesiastical Polity* is a treasury of knowledge, and a well of 'pure English 'undefiled.' The style is, for the time at which it was written, singularly chaste. Although the production of a pedantic age, the extensive learning it displays is untainted with pedantry. What is still more admirable, in an age of coarseness, its Author's purity of taste never suffered him to descend to a phraseology bordering upon grossness or impropriety.

Hooker is neither splendid nor vehement; he never surprises us by any brilliant coruscations of eloquence, or lively sallies of fancy. His fervour is that of the affections, not of passion. A composed and sober gravity, a modest dignity reigns throughout the composition; while there is a grandeur in the very march of his periods, which has upon the imagination the effect of solemn music. Perhaps, one of the most eloquent passages in the work, is the section in which he dwells upon the power of musical harmony; and it contains an expression which might almost be applied to his own composition. 'There is,' he says, 'a kind of music that draweth to a marvellous grave and sober mediocrity,' meaning a state of the feelings produced by the very harmony of sounds, severed from 'ditty or matter.' The passage, however, which we prefer to select, for the purpose of enabling the reader who has not the original at hand, to form his judgement of the present Analysis, is that in which the Author, proceeding to treat of the Sacraments as the means of man's union with God,



deems it requisite 'first to consider how God is in Christ, and 'how Christ is in us.' The whole of this noble digression occupies six long sections. The following is Mr. Kennicott's Analysis of the 52nd, 53rd and 54th.

' LII. It is not in the power of man to express perfectly, or conceive how God and Man are united in one Christ: but herein is our faith tried, where our capacities are weak. For 500 years after Christ, the Church had the greatest difficulty in preserving this holy mystery free from misrepresentation. Arius denied the Divinity of the Word, and soon after Apollinarius detracted from his humanity. After the Fathers of the Church, Athanasius, Basil, and the two Gregories, had refuted these impieties, and that confession, in which 150 Bishops assembled at Constantinople agreed, and which remains to this day a part of the litany, had put an end to the controversies; Nestorius disturbed the truth, by dividing Christ into two persons, the Son of God and the Son of Man, the one begotten before the worlds, the other born of the Virgin Mary.

' He did not pay sufficient attention to that passage in St. John's Gospel, "The Word was made flesh, and dwelt in us." The Word made not this or that man his habitation, but dwelt *in us*. The Son of God did not assume a man's person into his own, but a man's nature into his own person; and therefore took the seed of Abraham, the very first original element of our nature, before it came to have any personal human existence.

' By taking the nature of man He still continueth one Person, and changeth but the manner of His subsisting, which was before in the mere glory of the Son of God, and is now in the habit of our flesh. Forasmuch, therefore, as Christ has no personal subsistence but one, whereby we acknowledge him eternally to be the Son of God; we must of necessity apply to the person of the Son of God, even that which is spoken of Christ according to his human nature. We cannot say that John baptized the nature of man, because this is a personal attribute; his person is the subject that received baptism; his nature, that which maketh his person capable of receiving it. It was the Son of God who was born, baptized, crucified and buried. But the person of Christ, for ever one and the self-same, was only touching bodily substance concluded within the grave; his soul only was severed from thence; by personal union, the Deity was still inseparably joined with both.

' LIII. Notwithstanding this conjunction of natures, each substance preserves its natural properties; each its peculiar operation. Some things Christ does as God, some as man, and some as both God and man, because both natures concur as principles to one effect. So that it may be set down, that of both natures there is often a co-operation, always an association; but never any mutual participation, whereby the properties of the one are infused into the other. As often as we attribute to God, what the manhood of Christ claimeth, or to man, what his Deity hath a right to, we understand by the name of God and the name of man, neither the one nor the other nature, but the whole person of Christ, in whom both natures are.

LIV. 'The conjunction of Deity with Manhood made Christ a fountain of life, exalted his name above every name, and put all things into his hands. The assumption of manhood by the Son of God caused him to become like unto us, to be thereby rendered capable of meaner offices, than his person could otherwise have admitted, and suffering loss and detriment for the good of others.

'To sum up all, four things are necessary to make complete the whole state of our Lord Jesus Christ: his Deity, his manhood, the conjunction of both, and the distinction of one from the other.

'The first was denied by the Arians; the second was misinterpreted by the Apollinarians; the third was rent asunder by the Nestorians; and the fourth was confounded by the followers of Eutyches. Against which, four famous General Councils decided, viz.—the Councils of Nice, of Constantinople, of Ephesus, and of Chalcedon.' pp. 72—77.

These sections, together with the five others which are connected with them, Mr. Collinson despatches in a short paragraph, referring his readers, in a note, to the original. In the fifty-fourth, in which Hooker is treating of 'what Christ hath obtained according to the flesh by the union of his flesh with 'Deity,' occurs the passage to which we have alluded.

'If therefore it be demanded what the person of the Son of God hath attained by assuming manhood: surely, the whole sum of all is this, to be as we are, truly, really, and naturally man, by means whereof he is made capable of meaner offices than otherwise his person could have admitted: the only gain he thereby purchased for himself was, to be capable of loss and detriment for the good of others. But may it rightly be said concerning the incarnation of Jesus Christ, that as our nature hath in no respect changed his, so from his to ours as little alteration hath ensued? The very cause of his taking upon him our nature was to change it, to better the quality, and to advance the condition thereof, although in no sort to abolish the substance which he took, nor to infuse into it the natural forces and properties of his Deity. As therefore we have shewed, how the Son of God by his incarnation hath changed the manner of that personal subsistence which before was solitary, and is now in the association of flesh, no alteration thereby occurring to the nature of God; so neither are the *properties of man's nature* in the person of Christ, by force and virtue of the same conjunction so much altered as not to stay within those limits which our substance is bordered withal; nor the *state and quality* of our substance so unaltered, but that there are in it many glorious effects proceeding from so near copulation with Deity. God from us can receive nothing: we by him have obtained much. For albeit the natural properties of Deity be not communicable to man's nature, the supernatural gifts, graces, and effects thereof are. The honour which our flesh hath by being the flesh of the Son of God, is in many respects great. If we respect but that which is common unto us with him, the glory provided for him and his in the kingdom of heaven, his right and title thereunto, even in that he is man, differeth from other men, because he is that man of whom God is himself a part. We have right to the same inheritance



with Christ, but not the same right which he hath : his being such as we cannot reach, and ours such as he cannot stoop unto. Furthermore, to be the Way, the Truth, and the Life ; to be the Wisdom, Righteousness, Sanctification, Resurrection ; to be the Peace of the whole world, the Hope of the righteous, the Heir of all things ; to be that supreme Head whereunto all power both in heaven and in earth is given ; these are not honours common unto Christ with other men : they are titles above the dignity and worth of any which were but a mere man, yet true of Christ, even in that he is man, but man with whom Deity is personally joined, and unto whom it hath added those excellencies which make him more than worthy thereof. Finally, since God hath deified our nature, though not by turning it into Himself, yet by making it his own inseparable habitation, we cannot now conceive, how God should without man either exercise Divine power, or receive the glory of Divine praise ; for man is in both an associate of Deity. \* \* \* \* \*

And as God hath in Christ unspeakably glorified the nobler, so likewise the meaner part of our nature, the very bodily substance of man. In this respect his body which by natural condition was corruptible, wanted the gift of everlasting immunity from death, passion, and dissolution, till God, who gave it to be slain for sin, had for righteousness' sake restored it to life, with certainty of endless continuance. Yea, in this respect, the very glorified body of Christ retained in it the scars and marks of former mortality. But shall we say, that in heaven his glorious body, by virtue of the same cause, hath now power to present itself in all places, and to be every where at once present ? We nothing doubt but God hath, many ways above the reach of our capacities, exalted that Body wherewith he hath saved the world, that Body which hath been and is the root of eternal life ; the Instrument wherewith Deity worketh, the Sacrifice which taketh away sin, the Price which hath ransomed souls from death, the Leader of the whole army of bodies that shall rise again. For though it had a beginning from us, yet God hath given it vital efficacy, Heaven hath endowed it with celestial power : that virtue it hath from above, in regard whereof all the angels of heaven adore it. Notwithstanding, a body still it continueth, a body consubstantial with our bodies, a body of the same both nature and measure which it had on earth. To gather therefore into one sum all that hitherto hath been spoken touching this point, there are but four things which concur to make complete the whole state of our Lord Jesus Christ ; his Deity, his Manhood, the conjunction of both, and the distinction of the one from the other being joined in one.

Art. IV. 1. *Notice sur le Caractère et les Ecrits de Madame de Staël.*

Par Madame Necker de Saussure. 8vo. pp. 317. London, 1821.

2. *Sketch of the Character and Writings of Madame de Staël, &c.*

**E**LABORATE encomium is a difficult species of literary task. The writer places himself in the position of a pleader, and, in so doing, feels his talent and his ingenuity

burdened with the responsibility he has incurred towards his client, for whom he has undertaken to win or demand from the reader, the due portion of admiration. The simple biographer, who feels no higher responsibility than that of the witness to tell 'the truth, and nothing but the truth,' will, in most cases, produce a stronger and a more favourable impression than the most urgent and able advocate can do. We cannot be judges of the reasons which have induced Madame de Saussure\* to present herself to the public, rather as the advocate, than as the biographer of her distinguished relative and friend. What she has written, we have read with pleasure; but we imagine, that most of our readers would have been better satisfied, if the pages devoted to a long and rather laboured dissertation on the writings of Madame de Staël, had been occupied by a complete and continuous narrative of her life. The more difficult task which she has undertaken, it must be acknowledged, is executed with respectable ability. Madame de Saussure exhibits with great consistency and harmony of representation, the extraordinary personage she aims to portray, and is often both ingenious and happy in the attempt to give a definite expression to the fine and recondite peculiarities of her character. A little of the spirit of exaggeration, a little mannerism, a little of the *ultra-romanesque* in sentiment, some films of thought in the style of her original, rather too microscopic for common eyes, may be forgiven: the volume is altogether highly interesting.

'It is not,' says Madame de Saussure, 'the history of Madame de Staël that I propose to write, but rather, to trace the progressive impression which she has herself left of her character in her writings.'

'The writings of Madame de Staël serve so much the better to exhibit her character, as in writing, she has been more intent upon giving utterance to thought, than upon the effort to produce a work of art. Literary glory was never with her a primary object. Her works are the natural result of that perpetual and prodigious abundance of thought, which, to be fully developed and determined, required to be committed to paper. She did not think because she intended to write: she wrote because she had thought. It is impossible to consider Madame de Staël and her works apart. Her talents as a writer, and her eloquence in conversation, not only mutually supported, but served to accredit the genuineness of each other. Her works evince, that her rapid and astonishing eloquence had a solid basis, and might endure examination; while her conversational talents proved that her most finished compositions flowed, as it were, spontaneously from a living spring in the soul.'

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\* Madame Necker de Saussure, the near relative and intimate friend of Madame de Staël, is the daughter of the celebrated naturalist, M. de Saussure.



The Author is aware that she writes under the seducing influence of ardent friendship. She proceeds :

‘The sentiments of affection, of different kinds, which Madame de Staël inspired, were peculiarly lively and profound. She possessed a power of attraction that was irresistible : if in the first moment she excited admiration, in the second she captivated the heart. That species of force of mind which may inflict pain, did not belong to her. Her character presented a most attractive combination of energy and of flexibility. There was in her so much truth, so much love, so much greatness,—the fire of genius gave so much warmth to her heart, so much brilliancy to her intellect, that in becoming her friend, one felt to be only following the noblest impulses of the soul.’

The character of Madame Necker appears to have influenced that of her daughter, in the way of re-action and contrast, rather than of maternal direction and example.

‘Endowed with a firm temper, a strong understanding, and a great capacity for laborious application, Madame Necker had herself been eminently successful in her studies, and hence she was inclined to believe, that every thing might be acquired or accomplished by study. She studied therefore herself, studied society, individual character, the art of writing, the art of talking, the art of managing the house, and especially the art of preserving the purity of her principles, while she neglected no means of enlarging the mind. She directed her attention towards objects of every kind ; she made nice observations, reduced them to system, and from that system drew her rules of conduct.’.....‘It must be acknowledged, that the rigid direction of the attention on all occasions to ultimate utility, is inimical to grace and ease of manners. Madame Necker was herself constrained, and she imposed constraint upon those about her. Her temper, perhaps, would have been severe, and her will impetuous, had she not early felt the necessity of conquering her disposition ; and having effected much for herself by effort, she exacted a similar degree of effort from others. She granted indulgence, only when the duty of Christian forbearance was distinctly presented to her mind. Mons. Necker very well described her in saying, “Madame Necker wants nothing to make her appear perfectly lovely, but to have some fault to be forgiven.”.....‘The charms of infancy made no powerful impression upon Madame Necker. She had too far conquered nature, to retain a great deal of instinct. She could love only those whom she admired ; and a tenderness of sentiment and of imagination was somewhat foreign to her feelings. Gratitude was in her eyes the first of bonds, and she had fondly loved her father. This elevated filial affection seems, indeed, to have been characteristic of the family. God, her parents, and her husband, (whom she revered as her benefactor,) were the sole objects of Madame Necker’s ardent affections.’

The frigid and brittle systems of Madame Necker, were all speedily dissolved or broken, when the attempt was made to confine within them the ardent character of her daughter. A

feeling of parental disappointment, with which was mingled the mortification of the instructress, on the one side, and a spirit of opposition on the other, seem to have ensued. Strong self-shapen minds are in no way more sensibly wounded, than when the efficiency of labour seems to be brought into doubt, and the credit of favourite maxims is endangered, by the spontaneous and happy results of instinct.

‘ If her daughter had surpassed her by qualities of her own order, Madame Necker would have associated herself with the success which had seemed to be only the result of those qualities. She would have thought herself loved by her husband, in her daughter. But in Mademoiselle Necker’s power of pleasing her father, there was nothing which the mother could claim as her own; and when M. Necker appeared captivated with the no less original than transcendent genius of his daughter, her mother felt uneasiness and impatience, as well as so much disapprobation as served to veil from herself the idea of rivalry.’

‘ Mademoiselle Necker imagined, that by the mere force and spring of a good heart, and by the genial impulses of a happy natural disposition, she might be all that her mother had become by reason and vigilance; and she aspired to be the representative of natural gifts, as her mother was the pattern of acquired qualities. This intention, which, no doubt, was never more than half formed, too long influenced the opinions of Madame de Staël. Her admiration of the virtues of simple impulse (*les vertus de premier mouvement*), was too exclusive and too systematic. Natural qualities are, no doubt, the most engaging, but what is the use of assigning them a pre-eminence? Can any good end be answered, on the one hand, by exciting men to be proud of what nature has done for them, or, on the other hand, by leading them to despair of becoming all that they might make themselves? What is there, indeed, in the world more truly worthy of admiration, than that virtue which has its seat in the will? Madame de Staël herself acknowledged this, after her opinions had been matured by reflection, and especially when religion, better understood and more distinctly recognised, had presented all objects to her mind in a light more just. Thus advancing years taught her better to appreciate the merit of her mother’s character. “ The longer I live,” said she once to me, “ the more I understand my mother, and the more my heart feels the necessity of assimilating its sentiments to hers.” ’

Perhaps, had Madame Necker thought less of the importance of her formal instructions, and considered more attentively the re-action resulting from the peculiarities of her own character, she might have found the means of retaining her maternal influence, and of modifying the propensities and the opinions of her daughter.

Mademoiselle Necker when a child, was, we are told, full of gayety, of vivacity, and of frankness. ‘ Her complexion was a little brown, but fresh-coloured, and her large black eyes already

'sparkled with intelligence and goodness.' Madame Riliet, then Mademoiselle Huber, the early companion of Madame de Staël, has given the following picture of the domestic scene when the latter was eleven years old.

"We entered the saloon; by the side of Madame Necker's arm-chair, on a little stool, sat her daughter, who was obliged to hold herself very erect. She had hardly taken her accustomed place, when three or four elderly persons approached her, and talked to her with the most lively interest. One of them, who wore a little round wig, took her hands between his own, and continuing to hold them, entered into conversation with her as if she had been a woman of five and twenty. This was the Abbé Raynal: the others were M. Thomas, M. Marmontel, the Marquis de Pesay, and the Baron de Grimm. Every one who entered, in approaching Madame Necker, said something to her daughter, paid her some compliment, or addressed her in terms of pleasantry. She replied to every one with ease and grace. It was a frequent amusement, to attack and attempt to disconcert her, and to excite that imagination which so early began to display its brilliancy. Men of the first order of talent were among the most eager to lead her into conversation. They asked her for accounts of the books she had read, recommended to her others, and excited in her a taste for study, by talking with her both of what she knew, and of things of which she was as yet ignorant."

Madame de Staël's description of her father, we have not long since presented to our readers; to this description we can add but a single paragraph taken from the volume before us.

'A certain careless dignity (*une dignité un peu nonchalante*) prevented him (M. Necker) from imparting to conversation any movement which might produce a re-action upon himself, and he chose rather to resign himself to listlessness, which nevertheless he dreaded. It was difficult to him to conceal the antipathy mingled with contempt, which insignificance of mind or character excited in him; and the rather disdainful expression of his mouth, appeared in contrast with his mild and benevolent look. Native grace, however, always charmed him. In women, all that he required, was simplicity, and he was all indulgence to the young; but consolidated mediocrity was insupportable to him. After he had champed the bit for a length of time in an insipid company, nothing could be more amusing than the first explosion of his discontent. The common-place maxims that had been put forth, those shades of the ridiculous which he had seized, the indirect aims which he had perceived, and even the idea which he saw that others had formed of himself, all inspired him with the most original expressions, in strong contrast with his grave and imposing exterior. On such occasions he displayed a keen comic talent; and the natural goodness of his temper, which still discovered itself amidst these sallies, rendered it the more striking.'

If Madame de Saussure had felt herself bound to exercise the severer discrimination of a strictly impartial biographer, it would have been inevitable for her to indicate the influence



of the marked defects of Necker's character over that of his daughter. With all his fine susceptibility, his original genius, his ability as a man of business, his perfect integrity, there is a certain force of mind, connected with an entire superiority to secondary motives, in which he was manifestly deficient. As a statesman, he appeared inferior to some whose acquirements were less extensive, and whose views were far less comprehensive than his own; and as a man, his weak solicitude for popular applause, rendered him less consistent and less dignified in conduct than many who were altogether destitute of his purity of principle and of intention. The blind and passionate, though amiable admiration of her father, which actually became the prominent feature of Madame de Staël's character, could not fail to leave the traces of its partially disadvantageous influence upon her own mind. To this cause, probably, may in some degree be attributed Madame de Staël's taste for the mysticism of sentiment, her too late acquirement of plain good sense, the wide aberrations of her opinions, and, perhaps, even that instability of conduct which has so far counteracted the advantage otherwise resulting from the homage she has ultimately rendered to sound principles.

This is not the occasion on which we can enter upon any review of Madame de Staël's writings. The middle portion of this volume, we must therefore very briefly pass over. Madame de Saussure examines them chiefly as they exhibit the character and principles of their Author. We subjoin a list of them.\*

Of that means of exhibiting character so commonly resorted to,—the publication of private correspondence, the friend of Madame de Staël has not availed herself. Besides that letter-writing does not seem to have been her *forte*, 'I have,' says

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\* "*Sophie, ou les Sentimens secrets*," a comedy. "*Jeanne Grey*," a tragedy. Three Tales, prefaced by an Essay on Fictions. "*Lettres sur les écrits et le caractère de J. J. Rousseau*." [These were published (or written) before the commencement of the Revolution.] Then followed, "*Defense de la Reine*." "*Epitre au Malheur*." "*Deux opuscules politiques*," two anonymous pamphlets, entitled, "*Reflexions sur la paix, adressées à M. Pitt et aux François*;" and, "*Reflexions sur la paix intérieure*." "*De l'influence des passions sur le bonheur des individus et des nations*." "*De la littérature, considérée dans ses rapports avec les institutions sociales*." "*Delphine*." A piece prefixed to a posthumous volume of her father's writings, "*Sur la vie privée de M. Necker*." "*Corinne, ou l'Italie*." "*De l'Allemagne*." "*Considérations sur la Révolution Française*." The Essay on Suicide is mentioned but not reviewed by Madame de Saussure. Madame de Staël had, we believe, projected a work relative to Russia; and she left in an imperfect state, another, to be entitled "*Dix Années d'exil*."

Madame de Saussure, 'often heard her speak with just indignation of the custom which has lately prevailed so much, of publishing, without respect for the dead, and without regard to the feelings of the living, the private correspondence of celebrated persons.' Herself partaking of this feeling, the Author has abstained from violating the too little respected precincts of friendship. Of this determination, we would by no means complain. There are things of more value than the gratification even of a justifiable curiosity relative to distinguished personages. To preserve from the hazard of infection at its source, the current of sentiment which should give vigour and greenness to our friendships, is, as we think, of vastly greater importance than the gratification of public curiosity. It would not be difficult to adduce instances tending to prove, that the prevailing custom of dedicating a posthumous volume, made up of 'Remains and Letters,' to the memory of almost every one who has happened to be heard of beyond the private circle, has been tacitly remembered so as to poison the simplicity of the most intimate communications, and to impair the perfect integrity even of the most sacredly private documents. Who shall say in how many instances the ingenuousness of friendship has been spoiled, or half spoiled, by the thought, Perhaps my *Remains* and *Letters* will be published?

All that is communicated by the Biographer, relative to her friend's first and unpropitious marriage, is contained in the following paragraph.

'Although the suitors for the hand of Mademoiselle Necker were numerous, the choice of a husband agreeable at once to her parents and herself, was not easily made. She was determined not to quit France; while her mother, a zealous Protestant, required that she should marry a man of her own religious persuasion. Under these circumstances, the Baron de Staël obtained the preference of M. and Madame Necker. To a high-toned honour, great goodness of temper, and a warm regard for their daughter, he joined noble manners, and the advantage of distinguished birth. The king of Sweden, Gustavus III. by whom he was highly esteemed, openly favoured his pretensions, and promised to secure to him, for a long period, the place of ambassador at the French Court, in order to relieve Mademoiselle Necker from the fear of quitting Paris: moreover, M. de Staël engaged never to carry her to Sweden, contrary to her inclination. Such were the reasons which induced her to consent to a marriage with a foreigner, a man much older than herself, and one in whom she met with little congeniality of taste. This union, however, though no doubt not the most happy, would not have been formally interrupted, had not the improvident generosity of M. de Staël so far degenerated into prodigality, as to embarrass and endanger the fortune of his wife, who, at length, thought herself compelled, in justice to her children, to rescue their property from the

impending ruin. But the consequent separation was not of long continuance.'

M. de Staël soon after died; not, however, before his wife had done herself the justice of preparing to render to him, in his declining state, the attentions which were his due.

Many excellent sentiments on the subject of education, are given, as having been the maxims of Madame de Staël's maternal conduct.

'She built no hopes upon the efficacy of *extraordinary* systems of education. The young, she thought, should be inspired with elevated moral and religious sentiments, and familiarized with what is good in the real world, rather than shut up in a world apart, at once false and artificial. "I have always presented to my children," said she, "life, such as it is; and I have had recourse to no species of artifice with them." Truth was the basis on which, with her, every thing was built; and not only deception or disguise, but any kind of affectation, she believed to be both useless and dangerous. She disdained to descend, in conversing with her children, to that tone of assumed childishness, by which it is supposed that we adapt ourselves to their capacities. She sought rather to raise them to the level of her understanding, and to raise herself to the level of their innocence.\*'

We are tempted to quote on this topic, more than our limits can allow. Madame de Staël's intuition and strong feeling led her to reject the *hyper-improvements* of modern theorists, especially of some English systems of education.

'A just and moderate exercise of parental authority, spares the necessity of a thousand devices, of a thousand deceptions in education. If, to produce obedience, the parent reasons with the child, he is soon *run-a-ground*; if he entreats, he degrades himself: *sentiment*, employed as a means (in aid of authority), *paralyses*, and in the end, *hardens the heart*. The only true, the only serious, the only amicable relation between the parent and the child, is that of mild command and obedience. Infancy, always conscious as it is, of its weakness and destitution, attaches itself permanently only to protecting firmness. (*la fermeté protectrice*.)'

We really believe that it is the result of the activity and ingenuity of *trade*, as applied to book-making, rather than the influence of any system, that has introduced so extensively in England, the truly *childish* deterioration and degradation of elementary instruction which is referred to in the following passage.

'In conformity with her fundamental principle, relative to the necessity of perfect good faith in education, Madame de Staël rejected those trivial games, by means of which it is attempted to teach children the elements of all the sciences. When the zest for study

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\* \* Elle dédaignoit également de prendre avec les enfans ce ton de niaiserie maniérée par lequel on croit se mettre à leur portée; elle les élevoit jusqu'à son esprit, et s'élevoit jusqu'à leur innocence.'



fails, which must sometimes happen, the simple idea of *duty* ought to supply its place. This idea is readily apprehended by infancy; and far from its being desirable to keep it in reserve, to be employed at a more advanced period of life, we may affirm, that it never has much power, except where it has become gradually and deeply rooted in the mind. Children are not long the dupes of these forced diversions; and a thousand sallies, unfavourable to their improvement, proclaim their native right of amusing themselves altogether in their own way. Besides, as the principal advantage of study in early years, consists in the necessity it imposes upon the mind of making an effort, while that of amusement, lies in the spring which it gives to the entire little being, when diversion is mingled with the lesson, and restraint is imposed on the diversion, the proper benefit of both is lost.'

Madame de Saussure has done well in being quite explicit on the subject of the second and unavowed marriage of Madame de Staël. M. Rocca, we believe, when he accompanied his wife during her last visit to this country, passed as her nephew; and, if we are truly informed, the apparent disparity of years did not at all belie the humiliating disguise. We cannot accede to the reasons of the apology, a part of which we quote.

'It would, no doubt, have been better, had she avowed this marriage; but having been induced by a feeling of timidity, from which her order of courage did not set her free, as well as by an attachment to a name which her talents had distinguished, to avoid this declaration, all her soul was occupied in contending with the difficulties of her situation. Must it be granted, that it would have been still better not to have placed herself in this situation? Shall we allow, that Madame de Staël is not to be held up, in all respects, as an example? Herself would have been the first to grant this. It is what she has said to her children; it is what she has intimated in her writings, as far as was possible to an elevated soul (*une âme fière*) conscious of its greatness, &c. &c.'

It is known, that Madame de Staël's religious opinions followed that current of sceptical infatuation with which she was surrounded. She was not, however, a *sceptic* by temper. It was only so long as Infidelity, under the guise of a great and beneficent *discovery*, excited her enthusiasm, that it could retain its influence over her mind. Her natural and ingenuous tone of feeling, her temperament, alike ardent and melancholic, her strong and full intuition of the constitution of the heart, and of the actual condition and wants of human nature, and, we may add, her sufferings, made it all but inevitable, that she should return towards Christianity. Even had we more precise information on the subject, we should refrain from the attempt to scrutinize the exact nature or degree of this return. We transcribe, however, from the volume before us, with pleasure, and without comment, some of her expressions on the subject of religion.

‘ Among the happy effects of advancing years upon the character of Madame de Staël, we must enumerate the more fixed influence of religious sentiments over her mind, and her more habitual connexion of them with the business of life. Her scruples, which heretofore had regarded chiefly the probable consequences of her actions, now related more to her motives. Prayer, which with her was a need of the heart, in bringing her into constant communication with the source of all excellence, shed a purer influence on her soul. “ Whenever I am alone, I pray,” said she to her children.’

‘ Madame de Staël was of opinion that it is pride which inspires man with the wish to penetrate the secret of the universe. Speaking of some metaphysical discussions, she said, “ I prefer the Lord’s prayer to all this.” During her sleepless nights, she repeated this prayer incessantly. Sighs, and certain ejaculations which were habitual to her, were with her, pious invocations. Thus, these words, which so often escaped her—“ Poor human nature !”—“ Alas ! what are we !”—“ Ah ! life, life !”—were but the exhalations of religious feeling.

‘ It is in her last work that she has this striking sentence : “ Man is reduced to dust by infidelity ;” and again, “ Religion is the life of the soul.”

‘ In the year 1815, when the spirit of intolerance and the excesses of fanaticism were continually the objects of her animadversion, I feared lest religion itself might have suffered in her mind through the bad use which had been made of its sacred name. I mentioned to her my apprehensions on this ground. “ I protest to you,” said she, “ that is not the case : it is a regard for religion that partly inspires my indignation. There is not a quarter of an hour, I might perhaps say less, in which the idea of the Deity is not present to my heart.”’

The sentiments contained in the following passage, with which Madame de Saussure concludes her sketch are too general to demand a strict scrutiny, or to justify rigid animadversion.

‘ Madame de Staël has done much good in her time. I do not refer to the aid she has personally yielded to the unhappy ; nor to the widely diffused pleasure and instruction which she has afforded by her conversation and her writings. At the present moment I delight to think that she has been useful to the sacred cause of religion. She has effected good in this respect, so much the more, perhaps, as she never expressed the formal intention to plead the cause of religion. But a deep conviction, an intimate and powerful sentiment, has, as it were, involuntarily transpired in her writings. As she announced no such design, infidelity did not arm itself beforehand against her. It is always with mildness, with simplicity, that she has appeared as its advocate. She has not spoken as from the professor’s chair, nor in the severe tones of the preacher :—But, deriving her power of persuasion from her experience of all that can captivate the mind or the heart in the present scene, she has thus addressed men of the world, statesmen, literati :—All the interests which animate you, have occupied me ; but I have felt that there is nothing great or durable without religion : there is nothing else which can

sustain morals, the support of society; there is nothing but religion for the unhappy; and without religion, even genius is destitute of its highest inspiration. Those who have never soared towards the heavens, have not stolen the creative fire, nor shall they obtain even that shadow of immortality which fame bestows.

'A genius like that of Madame de Staël, could alone be qualified, as the missionary of truth, to oppose the spirit of the age, at once learned and acute, and frivolous and disdainful. Herself not entering the temple, but standing in its portico, she has addressed the multitude, heathen at heart, who offer incense to the muses, and stone the prophets. But it was with the thinking, that she preferred to converse; and like the great Apostle who found at Athens an altar consecrated to the unknown God, she said to souls serious and impassioned, "Whom ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you."'

With our high *English* notions of the proprieties and true dignity of the female character, it is not as a *woman* that we speak of Madame de Staël. Nor, with our opinion of the real tendency of delicious fiction, especially of fiction in which a moral purpose is hardly thought of, (and what is the moral of *Delphine* or *Corinne*?) is it as a writer of romance, that we choose to descant upon her exquisite talents. Even in her graver works, we know there are grounds on which her admirers may be ridiculed by those who are pleased to say, we cannot understand Madame de Staël. And long disputes might, perhaps, be held, before it should be satisfactorily determined, whether many passages, which, at first hearing, quicken the pace of all our thoughts, are to be coolly esteemed as specimens of *hyper*-thinking and feeling, bordering upon absurdity, or as the fruit of a profound and perfect intuition.

But leaving now such discussions, there is one respect in which this distinguished personage may be thought of and spoken of without hesitation, and with high satisfaction: we mean as the victim and triumphant opponent of wicked power. It is not extravagant to say, that Madame de Staël's influence has been real and great, throughout Europe, in aiding that sentiment of abhorrence and contempt which has accompanied and accelerated the overthrow of military despotism in France.

The lawless outrages of the republican years, terrified almost the whole educated portion of the French people, into a shameful acquiescence in the *regular* outrages of the system which presently succeeded. But with Madame de Staël, the despotism of the sovereign people, served but to fix and ripen those principles which gave her strength to scorn and repel the despotism of the sovereign sword. While violence was ragged, dirty, and stupid, there was pity mingled with dread and abhorrence in her mind. But when violence became trimly embroidered and intelligent, even fear gave way to anger and contempt. Had



France at that time been rich in such a number, a dozen *men*, each with a soul like that of this woman, might have saved their country. History affords some instances in which the unbroken spirit of a courage springing from principle, after it has forsaken the breasts of men, has seemed to take sanctuary in the bosom of a woman, there to be cherished and transmitted to sons worthier than their fathers.

That all the opinions uttered during a course of years, under varying circumstances, should be entirely consistent, and that every action should be equally worthy of the settled principles and character of the individual, is by no means an indispensable condition of meriting the praise of having nobly endured the malice of tyranny. So far is certain, that Madame de Staël suffered in all her predilections, as well as in her pecuniary interests, during her ten years' banishment, and also, that she had it at every moment in her power, by a breath of adulation, to propitiate her enemy\*. Indeed, the system of Bonaparte is too well understood to admit of the supposition, that any delicacy or personal dislike on his part, would have impeded a reconciliation with the most distinguished writer of France, then commanding the attention and admiration of all Europe.

But no one who has perused the writings of Madame de Staël, unless he is himself incapable of generous emotions, can doubt that she possessed a genuine greatness and elevation of soul. We mean that sort of elevation which has so rarely exhibited itself in France since the first days of the Revolution; an elevation consisting, not in the mere susceptibility of the imagination,—for of vapouring and inflation there has been enough: it has been the prime characteristic of the Revolution;—nor in a demon force of intellect, like that of Mirabeau; nor in simple integrity of purpose; nor in an unthinking and instinctive principle of honour like that of many of the nobles; but an elevation of character resulting from that susceptibility of the imagination, and that forcible pulsation of the heart, which together, produce the passion whose object is greatness, and excellence, and the wide good of mankind; and this too, in conjunction with so much intellectual power, as gives the individual the means of influencing the minds of others. Such, we think, even with all those weaknesses and extravagances upon which it pleases vulgar minds to dwell, was Madame de Staël.

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\* A considerable portion of Necker's fortune had been confiscated by the Directory. One of Bonaparte's ministers gave Madame de Staël to understand, that this should be restored to her, 'if she would love him (Bonaparte).' '*Je savois bien,*' she replied, '*que pour recevoir ses rentes, il falloit un certificat de vie; mais je ne savois pas qu'il fallût une déclaration d'amour.*'

Now there is a high satisfaction, as well as much excitement and instruction, in considering the real *equivalency*, and the eventual triumph of such a character, placing itself, at its cost and peril in opposition, by the simple force of truth and genius, to the unapt and angry efforts of despotism. It is agreeable also to remember, that the unalienable ability of transmitting to posterity their own history of the conflict, is an advantage almost always in the hands of those whose cause is the cause of mankind. The base,—whether they be the abusers of power, or the factious disturbers of the public peace,—may command the attention and belief of their victims or their followers; but they have no language for mankind, no voice that shall reach future times. Neither the tyrant, nor his hirelings, shall appear on their own behalf at the bar of posterity. But noble genius will be there to tell the story of its own times. Under no aspect, then, does literature appear of higher importance, than as it is seen holding over the head of evil power, a sword of retribution, quite beyond its reach effectually to influence or to avert.

The persecution which Bonaparte directed against Madame de Staël, suggests one further consideration that may deserve a moment's attention. It was with great difficulty that Bonaparte found in her writings, even a pretext by which to excuse his animosity and injustice towards her. It was precisely because she named not him, that he wished to suppress her works. But this negative crime was hard to be framed into an indictment. It was because her writings breathed a free and noble spirit, that he was unwilling that his Frenchmen should peruse them. But how was this free spirit to be trapped in the gins of his censor of the press? The inoffensive sentences, on account of which the first edition of the "*De l'Allemagne*" was suppressed, were of a nature to render a government to which they could be obnoxious, even more ridiculous than odious. "Madame de Staël," said the Emperor, "*monte les têtes dans un sens qui ne me convient pas*.\*"

It seems that the highest order of genius, when supported by genuineness of character, although it is the most formidable to despotism, is, from a peculiarity essentially connected with its very eminence, the least tangible, and the least within reach of the devices that are framed to control the press. The clever libeller, the dashing, declamatory journalist, the garret orator, the city-made philosopher, the oracle of the tavern club,—in a word, all those who have more talent than soul, be their talent ever so brilliant, deriving, as they do, their inspiration, their prime and strongest impulse from the interests and accidents of the day, can hardly render themselves offensive to jealous power, except

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\* "She inflates people with notions that do not suit me."

by those palpable and obvious overt-acts of attack, which are as readily fixed upon by the censor, as they are quickly forgotten by the public. The *gentes minores* of literature, with the spur of personal or party animosity, or the inspiration of a fresh and urgent conjuncture, may rise into an energy of thought and style at which even themselves are surprised. But if they are deprived of all impulse, except that which is supplied by the native tone of their emotions, and if, debarred from the topics of the day, they are exiled into the higher and more tranquil regions of thought, they presently either languish and faint, or become turgid and absurd, and lose at once all the power they seemed to possess of commanding attention as writers. When, therefore, restrictions upon the liberty of the press take place in a country that was lately free, this order of writers is the most immediately and severely affected. Those of them who are sturdy of temper, are quickly in jail or in exile. Those who are compliant, soon becoming too inane in the work of adulation to be worth even their pay, starve, or give themselves to some more thrifty craft; while many of a middle class turn towards the trifles of literature, or entirely resign the pen.

It is, however, the exclusive characteristic of minds of the highest order, that they are most inspired, most energetic, most *themselves*, not while heated by a personal conflict with an individual adversary, but while they are dwelling calmly upon those high themes, in listening to which, men become impatient of slavery, and indignant at injustice. To them it belongs, to impart a fresh colouring, to give a new and living interest to those great standing truths which cannot be impugned without compelling the enemies of human happiness to publish in plain terms their own evil designs. Lofty, virtuous genius makes the despot tremble most, when its language is the least an enable to the dull wording of his statute fears. He dreads and hates it, because it soars to a region where *he* is forgotten, and discourses of the great interests of humanity in a dialect utterly beyond the reach of the chicanery of oppression to attack. Putting aside then for the moment, the consideration of the interpositions of Divine Providence, and thinking only of the visible means, may it not be affirmed, that the bosom of uncorrupted genius is the casket to which the social hopes of men are consigned in the dark hour when force prevails against truth? The spirit of liberty may be hunted from its home in this or that corner of our globe, but, on the wings of genius, it crosses the seas, or descends to another age, and the men who hoped that it had left the earth, are disappointed.



Art. V. *The Treatise on Religious Affections, by the late Rev. Jonathan Edwards, A. M. somewhat abridged. By W. Ellerby.* 12mo. 5s.

**I**N the midst of the present rage for reading, and the increased facilities of publishing new books, we have with pleasure noticed the re-publication of several of the works of our older divines. The demand for such works, shews that there are readers who know their value, and who are able to appreciate those marks of sterling piety and laborious thoughtfulness, by which their works are distinguished. Within the last century, no author, certainly, has appeared, so worthy of being ranked in the same class with them, as Jonathan Edwards. While we follow him through his laborious, and acute, and often cumbrous dissertations, we almost forget that he is a modern. This resemblance must be allowed to extend to some of the more common defects of the old divines, by none of whom, however, he is surpassed as a theologian; and as a controvertist, he is absolutely without a compeer. His expositions of what may be termed the philosophy of divinity, have carried moral science further than any preceding writer on those abstruse subjects, and have placed the tenets usually denominated Calvinistic, fairly beyond the reach of the petty cavils and feeble declamations of their impugnors. His work upon the Will, is a masterpiece of metaphysical and logical acumen, which it would perhaps be no instance of presumption, to pronounce unanswerable. The witty and profligate Dryden may be allowed to allude to Calvin, as

‘ The last of all the litter, scaped by chance,  
‘ And from Geneva, first infected France.’

And it might be worthy of the anonymous author of the *Pursuits of Literature*, to class the great Reformer with the infidel Rousseau, as a foe to Episcopacy. But since the publication of Jonathan Edwards’s Works, it ill becomes any man who makes the slightest pretensions to philosophy, to treat Calvinism with contempt, or to deny the metaphysical consistency of the system.

The small work before us, is an abridgement, and an attempted improvement in point of style, of one of President Edwards’s most useful and practical treatises. We are not great admirers of abridgements, and have very little taste for improvements upon an author’s style; yet we must admit that the “*Treatise on Religious Affections*,” was susceptible of both. To give greater publicity to a work so admirably adapted to extensive usefulness, by compressing it into a cheaper and more readable form, is the design of the present publication; and in the execution of his task, Mr. Ellerby has succeeded beyond our expectations.

The *Treatise on Religious Affections* was occasioned by the defection of many converts in New England, and by the unsound and disgraceful profession of others. The peculiar circumstances under which the Writer was placed, led him to view the subject on all sides, and in all bearings ; and in delineating those marks of "gracious affections," which are exclusively the result of a Divine influence upon the mind, he has exhibited all his characteristic acuteness. He says, in his preface :

'It greatly concern us to use our utmost endeavours clearly to discern, and have it well settled and established, wherein true reason doth consist. Till this be done, it may be expected that great revivals of religion will be but of short continuance ; till this be done, there is but little good to be expected of all our warm debates, in conversation and from the press, not knowing clearly and distinctly what we ought to contend for.

'My design is, to contribute my mite, and all my best (however feeble) endeavours to this end, in the ensuing treatise : wherein it must be noted, that it is somewhat diverse from the design of what I formerly published, which was to shew *the distinguishing marks of a work of the Spirit of God*, including both his common and saving operations. What I aim at now is, to shew the nature and signs of *the gracious operations* of God's Spirit, by which they are to be distinguished from all things whatsoever which are not of a saving nature. If I have succeeded in this my aim, in any tolerable measure, I hope it will tend to promote the interest of religion. And whether I have succeeded to bring any light to this subject, or not, and however my attempts may be reproached in these captious, censorious times, I hope in the mercy of a gracious and righteous God, for the acceptance of the sincerity of my endeavours and hope also ; for the candour and prayers of the true followers of the meek and charitable Lamb of God.'

The *Treatise* is divided into three Parts ; Part I. 'Concerning the Nature of the Affections and their Importances in Religion.' Part II. 'Shewing what are no certain signs that Religious Affections are truly gracious, or that they are not.' Part III. 'Shewing which are distinguishing signs of truly gracious and holy Affections.' Of the general excellence of the *Treatise*, we deem it quite unnecessary for us to speak. It displays throughout a profound knowledge of the heart, and exquisite skill in exposing the deceptive symptoms on which too many persons fatally rely. No work perhaps is so admirably adapted to assist the Christian in the duty of self-examination.

Highly valuable, however, as the work is upon the whole, there are some passages which are confessedly liable to serious objections ; and as the sentiments they contain, have recently been very pointedly alluded to in the Sermons of a distinguished pulpit orator, we shall take the present opportunity of offering

a few remarks upon the subject. The objectionable notion with which President Edwards, and other American divines, have been chargeable, is, in brief, That our love to God must not originate in a discovery of His love to us, however that may follow, but must be founded primarily in His own holiness and excellence. The parts of the *Treatise* before us, in which this sentiment is stated and defended, are Sections ii. and iii. of Part III. It is impossible for us to insert in full the Author's reasoning upon this purely hypothetical speculation. We shall, however, transcribe one passage, as the basis for the passing animadversions we intend to submit. The title to the second section, conveys the general proposition in the following terms :

‘The first objective ground of gracious affection, is, the transcendently excellent and amiable nature of divine things, as they are *in themselves* ; and not any conceived *relation they bear to self, or self-interest.*’

The principle is stated and contrasted with its opposite, more fully in the following passage.

‘The first foundation of the delight a true saint has in God, is his own perfection ; and the first foundation of the delight he has in Christ, is *his own beauty* ; he appears *in himself* the chief among ten thousand, and altogether lovely. The way of salvation by Christ is a delightful way to him, for the sweet and admirable manifestations of the divine perfections in it. The holy doctrines of the Gospel, by which God is exalted and man abased, holiness honoured and promoted, sin greatly disgraced and discouraged, and free sovereign love manifested, are glorious doctrines in his eyes and sweet to his taste, prior to any conception of his *interest* in these things. Indeed, the saints rejoice in their interest in God, and that Christ is theirs ; and so they have great reason : but this is *not the first spring of their joy*. They first rejoice in God as glorious and excellent *in himself* : and then secondarily rejoice in it, that so glorious a God is theirs. They *first* have their hearts filled with sweetness, from the view of Christ's excellency, and the excellency of his grace, and the beauty of salvation by him ; and then they have a *secondary* joy, in that so excellent a Saviour and such excellent grace, are theirs. But that which is the true *saint's superstructure*, is the *hypocrite's foundation.*’ Works, Vol. IV. p. 148.

The whole hypothesis, that love to God, even in a perfect creature, can exist in this abstract and independent form, or, at least, that it ever does so exist, appears to us as unfounded as it is unnecessary. That it should so exist in the heart of a converted sinner, prior to all sense of God's love to him, is at once impossible in theory, and in utter inconsistency with the whole tenour of the Gospel revelation. Can it be for a moment imagined, that love to God has ever been excited in any human breast, or that it ever was intended to be inspired in the hearts of believers, by the abstract contemplation of the Divine excellence



or holiness? Could the flaming swords of the cherubim which expelled our first parents from the Garden of Eden, or the desolating waters of the Deluge, or the fiery torrents that consumed the cities of the plain, or the appalling terrors of Sinai,—though all these spoke the Divine purity and excellence in the most impressive accents, have availed to inspire love of a higher and purer kind than that which is wrought in us by a sight of God's great love to us, then, must they have been preferable, as means of subduing the human heart. What, it may be asked, imparts to the Gospel an efficacy superior to that of the most vivid and impressive displays of the Divine perfections under the Law, but the very fact to which the Apostle refers?—"We have seen" and believed the love that God has *towards us*." Of all the exhibitions of truth which the Gospel minister has to present, it is precisely the display of the Cross of Christ, not as an illustration of Jehovah's holiness, primarily, but as the superlative proof of his *love* to our souls, together with the accompanying offer of salvation, that is in fact found to possess a transcendent efficacy in winning the affection of the human heart.

Viewing the Gospel as a system of moral means, designed to produce love to God in the human heart, every part of it will be found to operate in a way completely the reverse of the Author's theory. Its first appeals are founded upon the implied principle of self-love in our nature: it excites a salutary sense of danger, and then it holds forth the promise of pardon, in a direct appeal to the same principle,—“He that believeth, shall be saved.” The provisions of mercy for our benefit, are exhibited in all their multiplicity, and in all their fulness, not subsequently to our discovery of the Divine holiness, but as the primary means of subduing and moving the unbelieving heart. If the whole instrumentality of the Gospel be not constructed upon this principle in our nature, which is as strictly according to the will of our Creator as the terms of grace,—the love of happiness, then we have yet to learn what means *the love of God towards us*. The whole conduct of Christ in his personal ministry, was calculated to produce love to God and to himself, precisely through the medium of good bestowed: the *first* principle appealed to, was self-love; and the *first* emotion excited, was gratitude. The conduct of the Apostles was in every respect similar: they held forth glad tidings; they published peace; they dwelt upon the *promises* of God, rather than the evidences of his abstract excellence. “God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten son, that whosoever believeth in him, might not perish, but have eternal life.” If this was not a direct appeal to the self-love of their hearers, we are at a loss to conceive what could be. The question of the jailor, sprang from the operation of the same principle: “What shall I do to be saved?” Yet it was

met by no rebuke from the Apostle. Upon the hypothesis of the excellent Author, the reply of the Apostle would seem adapted only to make him a hypocrite, by conveying to him in the first instance, a hope of *interest* in the blessings of salvation. If the President's theory were consistent with Scripture and with fact, we should have found Christ and his Apostles guarding their hearers against the delusive influence of the principle of love to their *own souls*, and against looking at the whole system of Redemption as a good *to themselves*: this view should have been kept in the back-ground, while every first effort to win the affections of unbelievers, should have been exclusively adapted to inspire their veneration for the Divine excellence and holiness, without any mixture of self, or any conception that a personal benefit of inestimable value, was subsequently to accrue.

We need merely refer to the general scope of the apostolic ministry, and to the emphatic terms of the angelic annunciation, "*Peace on earth, good will towards men*," in proof that in the *first* instance, at least, the Scriptural process is the reverse of that which President Edwards has stated.

It was essential to the support of this theoretical refinement, that the Author should explode the principle of self-love, by confounding it with selfishness; and it was a dangerous effort which then became necessary to give plausibility to the theory, to identify gratitude, and the love of gratitude, with that same low and degraded principle. We think that the Author's usual metaphysical acuteness failed him entirely at this point; for the perfection of selfishness involves the destruction of the love of gratitude. In proportion as the love of gratitude is genuine and vivid, selfishness is weakened and suppressed. Upon this point, Dr. Chalmers's remarks, in his recent volume of Sermons, are exceedingly just and important, and supersede the necessity of our further pursuing the subject.

The remainder of the present Treatise, excepting a few expressions in the second and third sections, is free from all objection; and its republication at the present time, is the more seasonable on account of the powerful antidote it affords to Antinomian dogmas. We have great pleasure in giving Mr. Ellerby's abridgement our warmest commendation, as being, what few abridgements are, an improvement in many respects upon the original work.

Art. VI. *No Fiction*: A Narrative founded on recent and interesting Facts. 2 Vols. 12mo. pp. 667. Price 12s. London, 1819.

**T**HE times are improved since the days of the *Spectator*, when a lady, on discovering that *Plutarch's Lives*, which she had been reading with avidity as a novel, were *no fiction*, lost all interest in the work, and sent back the borrowed volumes in high dissatisfaction. The best passport, now-a-days, which a novel or a tale can obtain, is, its being *founded upon fact*. This same title, *No Fiction*, is a capital bait for the public. Yet, it receives its own contradiction in the very title-page. For how can what is professedly only *founded upon facts*, be otherwise than in part *fiction*? And how can any fiction be otherwise than founded more or less upon facts? In the simplest details of an occurrence given in conversation, fact and fiction are, unconsciously indeed, but invariably blended. From the careful record of the grave historian, down to the circumstantial relation of the village gossip, the truest narratives are but fictions founded upon fact. How utterly incredible then, were it, that the author of a narrative extending through between six and seven hundred duodecimo pages, should have been able to make out his true story, without adding a pretty copious proportion of fiction! We are not disposed, nevertheless, to quarrel with the title: as we said before, it is, for obvious reasons, a good title; and the reader will sufficiently understand its import to be, that the main facts of the narrative were real occurrences, and the characters those of real personages. Of this, the work itself bears internal evidence; and so far from *the true* not being in this instance *probable*, the probability, in the absence of any such assurance, would have been in favour of the story being true. Who has not, within his little circle, met with a Lefevre, a Wallis, and a Douglas? An idle curiosity may be excited by the assurance that the work is no fiction, to know who was the real and original Douglas, or Lefevre, of the present tale. The deviations from fact in the conduct of the narrative, are professedly intended to baffle this unprofitable inquisitiveness, to which it was foreseen that the title would give rise. But if the story had been altogether a fiction, the characters would have been not the less natural; and what is natural, must be substantially true. Set a good draftsman to sketch a fancy scene, and another of less skill, to copy a real landscape; you will have most of nature, that is, most of truth, in the superior production; while the other, though founded on fact, will have in reality the most fiction. The question is, not whether the picture is copied from nature, but whether it gives a true representation of nature. And so, with regard to the moral tales and familiar histories, we take it for granted they



are founded on facts, for invention must draw its materials from observation and experience; but we ask not, whether the story is copied from real life, but whether it is true to life. The merit lies in its being natural, not in its being circumstantially true. And so does the interest of the narrative; for let the persons whose curiosity is on the stretch to be made acquainted with the prototypes of the tale, once gain possession of the secret, and be able to point out the real *Lefevre* and the real *Douglas*, the discovery by which the truth of the story is fully ascertained, will, we venture to affirm, be attended by a diminution of interest in the narrative. Its power permanently to impress the feelings, will depend upon the intrinsic qualities of the narrative, be it fiction or no fiction.

The only *moral* purpose of a tale, is, to present instructive exhibitions of human character. Events, or, as they are termed, facts, are of no further use than as they are the means and occasion of developing the characters which the writer wishes to delineate. The Author of "No Fiction" states, 'that as it was his design, in making these pages public, not to agitate the heart, but to amend it, to realize this, it was necessary, not merely to throw together some striking events, but especially to develop the moral causes and effects with which they were associated.' One of the very worst effects attributable to novel-reading, is, its tendency to produce a *passion for incident*, — to induce a vague expectation of adventure in real life, which is impatient of the still, gradual pace at which things move on within the sphere of domestic duties and enjoyments, and too often inspires the attempt to create the incidents which they fail to supply. The present work is *not* chargeable with any such tendency: the incidents are by no means forced or crowded, and they are of that sober kind which our ordinary days, and weeks, and years are composed of. The Author has obviously trusted to the characters he delineates, to interest the reader: and by this means he has succeeded in producing a highly instructive and affecting piece of religious biography.

The prominent character is that of *Lefevre*, a relapsed convert; and the leading design of the narrative, is to point out the dangers which beset an impressible, sanguine, and unexperienced youth, on entering life, from the allurements and insinuating influence of worldly society.

'The history opens in the nineteenth year of *Lefevre*; and embraces a course of events, running through the twelve successive years of his life. It is, therefore, in its own nature, eminently adapted to those who are occupying or anticipating a similar period of existence; and the Writer has constantly held in view the improvement of the youthful character, in the choice and illustration of the incidents he has introduced.'

We shall not analyse the tale ; nor do we deem it necessary to subject the literary merit of the composition to a severely critical estimate, however we may have been disposed to wish, on going through the volumes, that the Author had himself exercised a more rigid taste. The marked inequality of the style, would almost lead us to imagine that the work was the joint production of two different hands. The *ornamental* parts in particular, where there is an evident introduction of the *ad libitum*, the descriptive and sentimental interpolations which are intended to ‘impart a relish for the beauties of nature,’ might have been curtailed with great advantage to the work. We must confess that the first two or three chapters, produced in our minds very unfavourable anticipations of what was to follow ; and we thought that if the conversation between Mr. Banks and Mr. Douglas, was ‘no fiction,’ fiction would have been better in this case than fact. The ‘sentiments of blessedness and love,’ the feelings ‘above utterance,’ the ‘still communion’ of the two friends, together with the dancing ‘embellishments of peace and freedom,’ and the *groupe* of primrose, cowslip, and hawthorn, made us fancy we had taken up an old number of the Youth’s Magazine. If such writing is adapted to please young persons, it must be very young persons ; while those of maturer age, to whom the lesson of the tale is adapted more especially to be useful, are in some danger of being sickened before they enter upon it, by the meretricious graces and somewhat tedious conversation of the introductory chapters. As we wish not to advert again to what constitutes indeed the only defect of the work, we must here add, that the letter of Lefevre, in Chapter V., is in a strain more characteristic of a young lady of fourteen, than of a young man of twenty, and that Lefevre’s conduct is made to border too closely upon childishness, to excite the reader’s sympathy. When the Writer introduced the conversation at p. 91. about the butterfly, he surely must have forgotten for what class of readers he was preparing the narrative ; and in detailing the conversation between Mrs. Lefevre and Douglas in Chapter XXIV., he appears equally to have lost sight of Mrs. Lefevre’s character as depicted in an early part of the narrative. To a person of her age and Christian experience, in whose character ‘Divine grace,’ we are told, ‘appeared less in the character of a combatant struggling for superiority, than of a sovereign reigning with undisputed control,’—what mode of address could be more inappropriate and offensive, as coming from a young man, than the following made speech of Mr. Douglas ?

“ Life is troublous to the best of us, ma’am. In this world God designs our *improvement* rather than our *happiness* ; and, if our trou-

bles only prepare us for eternal felicity, we shall in the end, number them with our blessings.”

These unimportant blemishes only shew that the Author has not been in the habit of composition. We hope we shall be acquitted of any unfriendly motive in pointing them out to his attention. Did we think less highly of the tendency of the narrative, we should not have thought it worth while to make these remarks upon the composition. We proceed to discharge the more pleasing part of our office.

The character of Wallis is very natural and well delineated. The progress of Lefevre's intimacy with him, the way in which he gradually gains an ascendancy over his mind, the relaxation of Lefevre's religious habits, his consequent uneasiness, ineffectual resolves, and eventual declension, are described with all the force of truth. Considerable judgement is exhibited in this part of the work; and there is a pointedness of remark, and a vigour in the style, which contrast with the feebleness of some of the preceding chapters. Of this description is the judicious remark on the subject of apparent frankness and liberality in worldly characters, that ‘ease and warmth of manner are distinct from frankness; and that, as to liberality, if we only conform ourselves to the course of the world, there are few who will trouble themselves about our *idle* opinions.’ Again; the exclamation put into Lefevre's mouth, is very striking, ‘O, how dreadfully easy is it, in the company of the religious, to persuade ourselves we are like them!’

The following passage describes an early stage of Lefevre's religious retrogression.

‘While Wallis was exulting in the hope of reclaiming his friend from melancholy and fanaticism; and while Lefevre was eagerly fleeing from the presence of a conscience which, because it told him the truth, he had foolishly adjudged an enemy; Mr. and Mrs. Russell were filled with most anxious concern.

‘Lefevre had, indeed, preserved the best appearances before them; but his frankness of character did not allow him to beguile them into a false opinion; and their very attachment to him, whilst it apologized for his failings, was quick in their detection. They did not know enough of his engagements to say exactly how the change was effected; but they were too sensible a material change had occurred since the renewal of his intercourse with Wallis. His calm and regular pursuits, in which he was once so happy, were now abandoned; he was evidently reluctant to spiritual conversation; and they had reason to fear that, if the forms of devotion were not relinquished, the spirit had departed.

‘They tendered their little attentions as usual, and even increased them; but, generally, they met no kindly return; and sometimes were succeeded by a tart reply. That cheerfulness of temper which prepared him formerly to receive and bestow happiness in the little



circle, was lost; and succeeded by a feverish hurry and irritation of spirit, which spoke of inward dissatisfaction. His evenings were seldom spent at home; and when they were, his refreshments were often taken in silence; and he hastily retired to his room, to forget himself in the engrossing interest of a novel, or romance.

In a conversation with this worthy couple, which ensues, Lefevre expresses his gratitude to them for their prayers and their advice, but, in the spirit of self justification, adds:

“But, what have I done?—I have done nothing that is wrong, have I?”

“Nothing that is *wrong*!—I hope, my dear Charles, you do not limit this phrase to things directly immoral. This will never do for Christians. I remember my good old minister of Bridgenorth used often to say, there are three sorts of actions:—those that are good; those that are bad; and those that are doubtful;—and that we ought to be most cautious of those that are *doubtful*. ‘For,’ said he, (they are his very words), ‘we are in most danger of these doubtful actions; because they do not alarm us, and yet they insensibly lead to greater transgressions—just as the shades of twilight gradually reconcile us to darkness.’”

“But I do not know that I have done even what you would call *doubtful*,” replied Lefevre, in haste, as if he thought conscience would forbid the sentence, if he paused.

“I believe we shall find the best way of deciding on these *things doubtful*, is to judge rather by their *influence* upon us, than by their *sensible turpitude*. And now, my dear Charles, be candid with yourself, as you can be. Look back a little. Compare yourself, not with what you were yesterday, or yesterday week; but compare yourself with what you were six months ago. Are you not different to what you were *then*? Are you so tranquil, so happy, so satisfied with yourself? Have you so much spirituality of mind? so much deadness to the world?—such enjoyment of religion?—And must you not refer this change of feeling to a change of society and employments?”

Lefevre threw himself back in his chair, and rested his eyebrows on the fore-fingers of his right-hand, evidently the subject of an inward conflict, which he yet wished to conceal. Mr. Russell was delighted to see he had brought him to this state of reflection; and that it might not be interrupted, he paused and began to charge his pipe, a thing he habitually did when he had nothing else to employ him.

Mrs. Russell, however, had held her peace as long as she was able, and she remarked with some warmth—“But surely Mr. Lefevre you cannot think it *doubtful*, whether you ought to read such *scandalous* and *wicked* books as those which have been lying on your table, for the last two months?”

Lefevre was not displeased at this ill-timed, but well-intentioned observation. It called him from painful, though salutary, reflections; and he felt, that if it did apply to some of the novels that had passed under his eye, it did not describe the whole of them, nor those that had afforded him most pleasure. He therefore answered with spirit,

—‘That the books in question were not scandalous, and wicked;—that, on the contrary, they were designed to enforce good morals;—that they gave us an acquaintance with the world, and taught us a proper conduct in life.’

‘‘I don’t know,’ replied Mrs. Russell, looking rather wisely,—‘I believe you must allow, that it is not to novel readers we are to look, for “proper conduct” in the world. These wretched books, I am sure, have ruined multitudes of young people.’

‘‘Well, ma’am, they have not ruined me,’ said Lefevre, a little vexed at Mrs. Russell’s close remarks, the more so, perhaps, because he felt his conscience inclined to her side.

‘‘Oh! Mr. Lefevre, do not be angry! Do not talk lightly about being ruined. I cannot bear that!—But I cannot help thinking, that novels and plays are the way to ruin, and Mr. Russell and I, have not been easy about you, since you brought them into the house.—Say, Mr. Lefevre, you wo’n’t read any more of them. Remember, you used to call them “rubbish and vile trash.”—Oh! what would Mr. Douglas say if he knew you read them!’

‘This feeling speech much affected Lefevre; but the appeal to Douglas, with which it closed, touched his pride; and he again replied,—‘That Mr. Douglas would not condemn them as Mrs. Russell did; and, that she had no right to condemn them, since she had never read them. Read them,’ said he, with rather an ungracious tone, ‘and then give sentence.’

‘‘Nay, my dear Charles,’ said Mr. Russell, with his usual calmness, ‘I hope you do not think it necessary to buy all our knowledge with experience. Surely you would not think of taking a dose of arsenic, to ascertain that it is poison. And when we see with our own eyes, the dangerous influence of these books on numbers of young persons; and hear the testimony of the best and most pious of men concerning them; we can need no other evidence, and are fully warranted in forming our own opinion.’

Lefevre was asking himself, why he did not reason in this way at the time Miss Wallis first introduced her Tales to him, when Mr. Russell resumed: ‘I tell thee what, Charles—I remember my younger days. I thought of many things as you now seem to think. I attempted to unite religion with, what the world calls, innocent pleasures. But, somehow or other, I found that these *innocent* pleasures, hurt my conscience, and unfitted me for devotion. I was in this unhappy state for a long time, and it distresses me to think how near I was to losing all taste for religion, by these worldly pleasures. However, that God whom I had sought as the guide of my youth, did not forsake me. I prayed that I might see my error, and read my bible more diligently; and, in a few weeks, I was almost another creature. I was so happy in religion, that I lost all relish for my foolish amusements. So true it is, that prayer will either draw us from the world, or the world will draw us from prayer. It was about this time, that I made some resolutions, and read them carefully every week; and I am sure, they have not only kept me from many a snare since, but I hope have often quickened me in the pursuit of heavenly things.

‘ ‘ Well, I was going to tell you the resolutions. These are they. I resolved :—

‘ ‘ *First*,—To think of nothing, that would unfit me for communion with God.

‘ ‘ *Secondly*,—To do nothing, on which I could not ask his presence and blessing.

‘ ‘ And, *Thirdly*,—To read nothing, which would make me uneasy, if I should read it before a modest female.’

Lefevre retired from this, and similar converse, to his own chamber with a troubled spirit. Once more he fell on his knees, and with more fervor than he had used for many months, offered his supplications to God. He arose ; and gave himself to rest, with a composure, which was the more sensible to him, as he had been so long a stranger to the soothing efficacy of prayer.

‘ In the morning, his feelings were of a more mixed description. If his heart was at all influenced by penitence, it was not free from every emotion of resentment. He was vexed with himself, for having given an opportunity for rebuke ; and he was vexed with the indiscriminate, and, as he called it, excessive way, in which Mrs. Russell administered it.

‘ This lady, indeed, with the noblest intentions, often accelerated the mischief she wished to prevent. In the ardour of her friendship, she would say too much—do too much. In her eagerness to obtain a desirable object, she could not pause to ask the best manner of securing it. She could not estimate, and classify evils. If a thing was wrong—why, it was wrong—and must be opposed, and protested against, in the same way as any other wrong thing. Like an empiric in medicine, she would exhibit the same remedy for the same disease, without any regard to constitution or character. She did not know, that many weak persons are often hurried into the very thing one would have them avoid, by injudicious and ill-timed opposition.

‘ Unhappily, Lefevre had not learned to separate *advice*, from the *mode* of giving it. Mrs. Russell’s remarks, therefore, were not generally successful ; sometimes they fretted him into anger ; and more frequently tempted him to forget a good admonition, in quarrelling with the way in which it was presented.’ Vol. I. 176—183.

Many of the letters occasionally introduced, contain very admirable instruction. Some of them, we suspect, are transcripts of real communications. Lefevre, on being awakened to a sense of his criminal relapses, is naturally tempted to give way to despair ; a state of mind as remote from the humility and ingenuousness of true contrition, as it is from peace and self-satisfaction. ‘ Often,’ he is represented as saying, ‘ have I concluded, that I am intended as an awful instance how far a man may go in religion, and yet be lost.’ Douglas thus writes to his friend while exhibiting these symptoms of imperfect penitence.

‘ ‘ I was, principally, affected to observe the tendency you discovered to *despair*. No evil is to be dreaded more than this. Where it is found, no good can dwell. It withers up the energies of the



soul—it averts the eyes from the work of redemption—it shuts up the heart in obstinate impenitence. Your present circumstances may well give birth to prayer, to penitence, to circumspection: but they should by no means engender despair. There is every thing in God—every thing in the character of the Saviour—every thing in the spirit of the gospel, to encourage hope,—nothing to countenance despair. Hope is presented to the most miserable—the most criminal—of human beings; if we lose hope then, it is not because it is withheld, but because we cast it away from us. Cherish then, I entreat you, as a most invaluable blessing, the hope of salvation! Not that ignorant, indolent, indefinable hope, which springs, like the ignis fatuus, from the very bosom of corruption. This is miscalled; it is not hope but presumption. Cherish that operative, spiritual and immortal hope, which the scriptures describe, as eclipsing the world, purifying the heart, and laying hold of things invisible!

‘Should you find, that the review of the past becomes an obstruction to your hopes, I would advise you *to begin your religion afresh*. I have found wonderful advantage in this simple rule. Many persons spend time in seeking after evidence of their *past* christian character, when it would be much better employed, in an *immediate* application to the Saviour. Say in such seasons of doubt,—“If I have not been really penitent, I will desire to be so *now*;—if I have not relied on the Saviour, I will rely on him *now*;—if I never have surrendered myself to him, I will make my surrender *now*.” This often foils the enemy, at a moment, when he has been arranging a train of objections to our *former piety*.’ pp. 225, 6.

Lefevre has involved himself in obligations to Wallis, of a nature which render it impossible for him to disentangle himself from his friendship. He gradually plunges deeper and deeper into dissipation; begins to think degradingly of mankind, to suspect the sincerity, and eagerly to detect the failings of the professors of religion; is tempted to disbelieve Christianity, and allows himself to read infidel authors; but

‘he remained a believer in opposition to his desires, in opposition to his efforts. The most that he could, at any time, do, was to *doubt*, *not* to *disbelieve*, to be a *sceptic*, not an *infidel*.’

Intoxication, as presenting a fresh excitement, and a transient suspension of intolerable disquietude, completes the deterioration of his character. This is a natural progress, every fresh step in which, it is justly remarked, seems to heighten, both in feeling and in fact, the impossibility of return, by extinguishing, first the hope, and then the desire of returning, till the character is at least irreversibly sealed up by impenitent desperation. Hundreds and thousands of young men of half-formed religious principles—our public offices especially would afford numberless instances of the kind,—have run the downward career of Lefevre, not, like him, to be rescued.

The second volume contains some very interesting incidents, and some very pleasing writing. Perhaps we cannot select, for a concluding extract, a passage that shall do more justice to the talents of the author, than that which describes the temptation to suicide. If such thoughts and feelings may be with safety and benefit to the reader ever embodied in narrative, they could not have been more instructively, more impressively represented, than in the following recital.

‘ Thus silent, but restless, Lefevre went forth from the busy town. Where was he to go?—What was he to do?—were questions, that did not occur to him. He merely wished to escape the inquisitive eye—the impertinent question—the objects and concerns of a world, which had ruined him, which he loathed, and from which he felt he was severed for ever. In a word, he sought solitude. But solitude was not made for man; much less for the *guilty*. There grows the nightshade; there live the scorpion and the serpent; there dwell the beasts of prey “going about seeking whom they may devour;” and there are found the syrens of a lower world, decoying the reckless wanderer to his own destruction. Lefevre should have sought in the sanctuary of friendship, the medium between desolate solitude, and worldly tumult; but he had yet much to learn. The means he once more adopted for his relief, were such as would provoke his distemper; and, as he wandered carelessly away over hill and valley, to the eye of a compassionate spectator, he appeared as though he were “going out into the wilderness to be tempted.”

‘ Long—long he wandered, thoughtless of place—of time—of appetite—of fatigue. At length, he was impeded in his course, by suddenly coming down on the margin of a considerable river. A fine old tree stood close beside him; and, spent with exertion, he threw himself beneath its refreshing shade.

‘ The prospect around him was pleasing. The river, in one direction, ran and winded, as far as the eye could see; and in the other, was, at about half a mile from the spot, decorated with a well formed bridge, which was animated by the foot of industry, and the rumbling of carriages. The arms of the bridge united the dwellings and inhabitants of two populous towns: while its elliptic arches presented in fine perspective, the cottages, meadows, and hills, which rested in the distance. On one hand, the hills again arose in larger and bolder form, clothed with a verdure that might have deceived one into spring. On the other hand, appeared, on a pretty eminence, the tower of a church, rendered beautiful, by being encircled with elm trees; respectable, by standing connected with the remains of an old baronial castle; and awful, by having at its feet the tombs of our fathers, and our fathers’ fathers. On the whole scene the sun now shone with a living brightness. Nature had shed her dew profusely on the face of the earth, as if to hide the nakedness of autumn; and now they glittered on every object, with a crystal, silvery light.

‘ But what were delightful prospects to Lefevre! If his eye strayed over the scenery, it was unconsciously and for a moment; and,

if it had any effect upon him, it was without effort or comparison. Its gaiety and cheerfulness insensibly seemed to put him farther from happiness; and to deepen the darkness of his soul. There was but one object that could secure his attention, and on that it was fixed—it was the river! His eyes rose and fell upon its waters, so as to indicate a spirit under the changing sway of anguish, fear, and desperation. For some minutes, he had sat as still as the tree beneath which he rested, and then, with a low voice, as if opposing some objections, said—"Why should I live? My life is a curse to myself and to others. I know I am lost and must die—Why should I live? If I were dead, I should know what I have to suffer. My punishment is just—I allow it; why may I not seek it?" To this, a voice within him replied,—That though the sentence were just, he was not authorized to take the execution of it into his own hands—that the Author of life alone, has the right of disposing of life—and that to touch his own life would only be to add to his other transgressions the heinous one of self-destruction.

Lefevre, with all his waywardness, was not willing to add to his offences, and he had no argument to oppose to these suggestions; yet the tempter was busy in his soul. As he was silently revolving the perilous subject, and his reason and passion held doubtful conflict, a sheep belonging to a flock feeding near him, ventured from the circle; and, coming within a few yards of him, stood looking in his face. Lefevre's attention was called up. Dumb as the animal was, its features spoke it innocent and happy. He could not look upon it—it touched his heart! "I was once," thought he, "like it—what am I now?" He turned away his head, rose from the ground, and began to walk from a spot so ensnaring to him.

\* The tempter does not always expect immediate success to attend the temptation he offers. An alarming object must be reconciled to the sight, by frequent presentation, before it can be embraced. Lefevre's mind had been happily diverted from itself, in a moment of great danger; but the subject on which it dwelt was by no means dismissed. On the contrary, he returned to it directly—balanced it in his thoughts with an avidity he could have experienced on nothing else—and often rose to a tone of confidence, in deciding against doing an injury to his own person. This did not signify. His enemy had gained one point, perhaps the only one he proposed at this time—he had familiarized his thoughts to the act, by the very consideration of it. The hour of close assault was to come.

\* The day, for the season of the year, had been remarkably fine and warm; and the evening partook of its nature. Lefevre had rambled about till, as the sun was declining, he came in view once more of the river; but at a distance of about five miles from the spot, to which a reference has already been made. The feelings, with which he had gazed upon it in the morning, powerfully revived within him; and he was, alas! too well prepared to indulge them with, at least, diminished horror. He advanced to the side of it. A bank had been made, several yards in length, for facilitating the conveyance of chalk and flint to the vessels; it was now in disuse, and covered with grass, except where a few calcareous stones were seen. The side to the water



rose perpendicular about four feet above the surface, and descended several feet below it. To this elevation Lefevre ascended. He walked to and fro, agitated with those throes of passion which, by the torment they gave, biassed his mind to the sinister resolution. Weary of action and weary of life, he sat himself on the stones at the very verge of the river. This was the moment of trial! The night had come on. Obscurity had fallen on every thing but the waters: on them the moon beams played with most fascinating sweetness. Lefevre's frame was heated with fever and exercise; no breeze was stirring to invigorate it; the river alone looked cool and refreshing, and seemed inviting him to its very bosom.—He listened—not a sound was to be heard. He looked round—not a living creature was to be seen. His purpose strengthened—he started on his feet. His spirit shuddered with horror—not at the leap to the waters—but at the idea of rushing into the presence of the Great God he had offended! He walked about in agitation—sat down again. He postponed a purpose which he had not power either to break or fulfil—he would do it when the tide came to a certain height. His aching eye hung over the bank, watching the awful progress of the rippling waters. Now they ran over the stone, which was to fill up the measure of his time—but they sank again! The blood fell back to his heart, and the sweat drops sprang on his forehead! Now again the little waves ripple over the mark—and—subside no more! He rises from his seat for the last time. He starts to see a person in the path which ran along the bottom of the bank. He paused to get the stranger out of sight. This was not so readily done. He waited—and waited; and, at last concluding the intruder meant to watch him, he descended to the pathway, and left the place full of indignation.' pp. 111—118.

Whoever be the author of "*No Fiction*," he has evidently no superficial acquaintance with the human heart. If he is not a practised writer, he must be an experienced Christian; and whatever defects may attach to the subordinate parts of the story, are amply compensated by the sterling good sense and piety which characterise the sentiments. Lefevre's penitence and restoration are described with great judgement; the connexion of pride and despair, of gratitude and hope, of self-distrust and assurance, is admirably illustrated; and the Writer with great propriety waives the question of the reality of Lefevre's former piety. We very cordially recommend the work as replete with the most valuable lessons, especially to young persons who are just entering upon life.

Art. VII. *A Sabbath among the Tuscarora Indians.* 32mo. pp. 69.  
Price 6d. 1819.

**WE** do not often notice Sunday School literature, to which, according to its original intention, this very interesting little Tract is to be referred; but the information which it contains, relative to a very remarkable people and an important field of missionary exertion, gives it a much better title to notice in our Journal than many publications of loftier pretensions; while, from the humble shape in which it appears, it may seem to stand more in need of being brought before the attention of our readers. The narrative is given as a faithful relation of facts which came under the Writer's personal observation, when recently in America. For the purpose of authenticating the account, the name of John Morrison Duncan, the very respectable publisher, is affixed to the Advertisement, as that of the Author of the Tract.

'The true character of the North American Indians,' he remarks, 'is, in this country, very little known. We have heard much of their cruelty, their treachery, and their love of revenge; but,' he adds, 'we mistake them very much.'

'The Indians, except in so far as they have been degraded by the wickedness of Europeans, are possessed of many of the most engaging qualities of human nature. Humanity, benevolence, and honesty, are, in peaceful times, their distinguishing characteristics.'

Their habits of industry and sobriety were first destroyed by the wickedness of Europeans. This, we believe, is a generally admitted fact. The conduct of the Whites to the Indians, has been, with few exceptions, 'an unvaried scene of aggression, treachery, and cold-blooded cruelty.' Not content with dispossessing them of their territory, 'Europeans, in their wars with each other, have not ceased to engage the Indians in disputes in which they had no interest, and which, whatever party was successful, only hastened the ruin of their unhappy race.' To these wrongs, an affecting allusion is made in the speech of an Indian *Sachem*, when questioned respecting the cause of his marked dejection on taking a view of the city of New York.

"I will tell you brother. I have been looking at your beautiful city—the great water—your fine country—and see how happy you all are. But then I could not help thinking, that this fine country, and this great water, were once ours. Our ancestors lived here—they enjoyed it as their own, in peace—it was the gift of the Great Spirit, to them and their children. At last the white people came here in a great canoe. They asked only to let them tie it to a tree, lest the waters should carry it away—we consented. They then said some of their people were sick, and they asked permission to land

them and put them under the shade of the trees. The ice then came, and they could not go away. They then begged a piece of land to build wigwams for the winter—we granted it to them. They then asked for some corn to keep them from starving—we kindly furnished it to them, they promising to go away when the ice was gone. When this happened, we told them they must now go away with their big canoe; but they pointed to their big guns round their wigwams, and said they would stay there, and we could not make them go away. Afterwards more came. They brought spirituous and intoxicating liquors with them, of which we became very fond. They persuaded us to sell them some land. Finally, they drove us back, from time to time, into the wilderness, far from the water, and the fish, and the oysters. They have destroyed the game; our people have wasted away; and now we live miserable and wretched, while you are enjoying our fine and beautiful country. This makes me sorry, brother, and I cannot help it!" "We are driven back," said an aged warrior, on another occasion, "until we can retreat no farther—our hatchets are broken—our bows are snapped—our fires are nearly extinguished—a little longer, and the white men will cease to persecute us, for we shall cease to exist." ' pp. 10—12.

In the Letters from Susquehanna country, noticed in our last Number, there is an apologetical and panegyric reference to the conduct of General Jackson at the expense of the character of the Indians. The following account, which completely reverses the statement there given upon hearsay authority, will show with what caution it is necessary to receive the reports of British refugees.

' This work of death is still going on. The conduct of General Jackson, in his late wars with the Creeks and Seminoles, has been that of a fiend rather than a man. Rapine and devastation have tracked his footsteps. He boasts, in his despatches, that "things were executed in style;" and one of his subordinate officers blushes not to avow, that every village they took was burned, that all the warriors were put to the sword; and so indiscriminate was the butchery, that even women and children were cut off without mercy. At another time, one of Jackson's officers, lying off the mouth of a river, in a schooner, was eager to entrap two Indians of considerable influence, who had hitherto eluded his grasp: to effect it, he hoisted, by Jackson's orders, the British flag at the mast head; the Indians hailed with joy the friendly ensign, and hastened on board, fondly hoping to escape from the destroyer. No sooner had they set their foot on deck than ropes were put round their necks, and they were hanged at the yard arm. Such are the men who stun our ears with outcries about liberty and the rights of man; and such is the humanity of those who call the Indians cruel! Men may palliate and excuse these enormities,

' But many a crime, deemed innocent on earth,  
Is registered in Heaven; and these, no doubt,  
Have each their record, with a curse annexed.



‘Is it cause of wonder, that the Indians, thus goaded on to madness and despair, have sometimes turned with fury upon their persecutors; and when an opportunity offered, exacted blood for blood?’ pp. 14—16.

‘It may be thought somewhat out of place, but I cannot avoid stating here, in justice to the Americans, that this man’s character is execrated by all well informed people, whether Federalists or Republicans. He became deservedly popular for his defence of New Orleans during the last war, but his subsequent conduct makes it appear that he considers himself elevated by his success there, far above the influence of all law. His execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister, took place while I was in America, and excited among the well-disposed throughout the Union, the most decided abhorrence; the general feeling respecting this transaction was, that Great Britain would have been perfectly justifiable had she marked her indignation at it in a much more decided way than she did. The few who defended Jackson’s conduct, were either the leaders in party politics, or those whose virulent antipathy to this country knows no bounds; and of these by far the greater proportion are disaffected refugees from different parts of Great Britain. The Americans have wronged and traduced the Indians, but many among us, no less maliciously wrong and misrepresent the Americans.’ Note, pp. 14, 15.

It is for the interest of both nations, that the true state of things in the United States should be known; that both the delusive pictures of sanguine adventurers, and the distorted views of dissatisfied speculatists, as well as the still grosser or more malignant misrepresentations of party writers, should receive correction. In the present destitution of authentic and competent information, the only plan we can adopt, is, to receive accounts from each of these quarters with equal caution, and to let them correct or negative each other. Thus, Johnson and Cobbett may serve to expose the fallacies of Birkbeck, and Fearon, to expose Cobbett, as, in this instance the Susquehanna Secretary receives a direct contradiction to one of his statements, from a witness whose accuracy we see no reason to doubt.

The present Narrative, however, relates almost exclusively to one of the aboriginal nations of America. The Tuscarora Indians were once a numerous and powerful race, and possessed an extensive tract of country in North Carolina. A small tract of land, about four miles from the banks of Niagara on the American side, and about eight miles below the Falls, is now their only remaining nominal possession; and their number has dwindled down to about three hundred. During the recent war between Great Britain and the United States, this settlement shared in the desolation of all the villages on either side of the river; but these villages had been rebuilt some time before the Writer’s visit, and the Indians had been again collected from their wanderings. Mr. Duncan heard at New York, that a missionary and a schoolmaster had been stationed among them;

and the favourable report which was given of their success, determined him on passing a sabbath at their village. It was on Sunday, the 18th of October, 1818, that this wish was realised. On entering the first log-house he came to, he inquired for the Church, and was directed to it by an old Indian who knew just enough of English to understand and satisfy his inquiry. He found it a log-house also, but larger than most of the others; it is a church on the sabbath, and, during the rest of the week, a school-house.

‘The Indians, together with some white people, were just beginning to assemble; some of them were sitting round on trunks of trees; I seated myself beside them, and looked round me with much interest, on a scene such as I never before saw, and in all probability may never see again. The landscape was altogether American; the view was bounded by thick forests stretching far in every direction; round us the axe had been at work, and for a considerable extent, the ground was covered by the stumps of trees; part of it was divided into fields, surrounded by the zigzag rail fences, and crops of Indian corn had been partly gathered, and were partly ripe for it. Scattered around were the log huts of the natives, and before me was one devoted to the worship of God and the instruction of the young. No bell was ringing, but an Indian at the door was sounding a horn, and as it echoed through the woods, a congregation was assembling, different from any this country can show. It was not such an assemblage as crowd the streets of our populous cities, or the lanes of a country village; but the Red Indian of the forest, stately in his figure, and with a countenance and dress unknown in our native country, forsaking the superstitions of his forefathers, was assembling with his wife and children, to worship the Christian’s God. Surely here was a scene calculated to awaken in the thinking mind, the most lively sensations of delight; and produce a powerful conviction of the advancing accomplishment of the Divine promise, that “His name shall be known in all the earth, his saving health among all nations.”

‘The personal appearance of these Indians, was very different from that of almost all those whom I had previously seen. The scattered remnants of these ancient proprietors of the soil, which are to be seen among the settlements of the Whites, present in general a pitiable appearance. Habitual drunkenness has ruined among them all that was noble in the Indian character; and they are often to be seen in rags and wretchedness, squandering at the tavern doors the little money they acquire; a deplorable picture of moral degradation. The Tuscaroras, however, who were gathering to church, presented a very different appearance. They were clean and decent in their dress—they bore every mark of sobriety and good behaviour—the men walked with the conscious independence of those who know and do their duty; and the aspect of the women and children, was such as betokened industry, frugality, and domestic comfort.

‘They talked but little to each other when they were assembling, for the Indians are remarkable for their quietness and decorum. Some of the men awaited round the door the minister’s arrival; the women

walked in and took their seats. In a short time, the minister Mr. Crane, with Mrs. Crane, arrived; some other white people accompanied them, and all followed them into the church. Within, it had a respectable appearance. Round the walls were hung the boards used in Lancasterian schools, containing the Alphabet and Spelling Lessons; from which the Indian children are taught during the week. Near the head of the room stood a desk for the minister, and forms were ranged round to accommodate the congregation. The appearance of the Indians was, in every respect, pleasing: they sat sedate and attentive, with their eyes fixed on the ground. The women, without exception, kept their cloaks wrapped closely round them; and with their left hand brought it over their mouth, leaving only the upper part of their face uncovered. This is their customary attitude before strangers, and has a singular but very becoming appearance.

The exercises of the day commenced by the Indians singing a hymn in their native language. The tune was one of our common psalm tunes. Some of them had the music books before them, and they sang the different parts. Their voices were good; those of the females particularly sweet; and the effect was very pleasing. It was to me indeed an unknown tongue, yet I heard it with emotions of much pleasure. It was the first time in my life I had heard those who speak another language than myself, celebrating the praise of Jehovah in their native tongue; and reminded me of the day of Pentecost, when the strangers from foreign countries, collected at Jerusalem, heard the disciples declare to them in the various languages, the wonderful works of God. It produced on me a feeling very different from that with which I have sometimes heard the Papists, in one of their week-day services, chanting a Latin anthem;—that, suggested nothing but pity mingled with horror; for they, poor creatures, knew not the meaning of the words put in their mouths by the priests, which, for any thing they knew, might contain curses in place of blessings:—what delusion, to suppose that such service can be acceptable to God! But these Indians understood what they sung; and, from what I afterwards learned, I have no doubt it was with some of them, the acceptable praise of a renewed and a grateful heart.

When the hymn was concluded, Mr. Crane addressed them on the nature and importance of religion—he spoke in English, and an old Indian, whose name, as I afterwards learned, was Kusack, stood beside him, and interpreted sentence by sentence. He told them that the object of God in sending the gospel to any nation, was to enlighten the people;—to teach them their true character;—to make known to them how their sins might be forgiven;—and to leave utterly without excuse, those who should refuse to hear; those who wilfully persisted in rejecting the offers of mercy which were sent to them. The old interpreter made this address intelligible to his Red brethren, and it was listened to with the most profound attention. On its being concluded, they united in singing another hymn; and after the hymn, Mr. Crane offered up a fervent prayer for the presence and blessing of God. He prayed, that his Indian auditory might understand and accept the offer of salvation;—that the careless might be awakened;—that believers might be strengthened;—that White and Red might



be brethren in Christ Jesus, and children of God by faith. Who, that knows the blessings of salvation, and has tasted that the Lord is gracious, could refuse to say Amen, to such a prayer, in such an assembly?' pp. 25—33.

A sermon followed, which was translated, sentence by sentence, by old Kusack, the interpreter; after which, one of the Indians was called upon to pray in his native language before the whole assembly, both Whites and Indians, to the God and Father of all. The service was concluded by singing a hymn, and the benediction. The Writer subsequently introduced himself to Mr. Crane, and from him he received some highly satisfactory details relative to the subjects of his ministerial labours. His congregation consisted of thirteen regular members, six men and seven women; but, besides these, a considerable number attended constantly, of many of whom he entertained a favourable opinion.

'Mr. Crane assured me, that a very beneficial change has been produced on the Tuscaroras by the introduction of Christianity. They were, some years ago, in a state of as great debasement as many of the other nations: but now, out of the three hundred of which the nation consists, there are but ten who ever indulge to excess in spirituous liquors. Even these do it but seldom, and are so conscious of their fault, that for a considerable time after each such occurrence, they keep as much out of sight as possible, till they think their misdemeanour has been forgotten. They now pay considerable attention to agriculture, and not only raise Indian corn, which requires little labour, and of which all the nations raise a little; but have begun to cultivate wheat, which is a much more valuable crop, and though it requires greater care, is less affected by the vicissitudes of the weather, and can therefore with much more confidence be relied on as a security against want. They are, as a nation, honest in their transactions with each other, and industrious in labouring for the support of themselves and their families. The benefits of Christianity, therefore, are not confined to those who have made a public profession of it, but it has greatly improved the whole nation. A standard of honesty and morality has been introduced among them; they have been taught to regard the good opinion of others, and to consider themselves as members of a body, for the good of which, all are bound to labour. pp. 50, 51.

It is not among the Tuscaroras alone, that missionaries are labouring; the work has been begun among some of the southern nations, with a prospect of success. The Writer was present when a sermon was preached at New York for the benefit of a mission among the Cherokees, at which four young men of that nation, who were educating as missionaries and teachers, formed part of the audience. But the Five Nations, viz. the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagoes, Cayugas, and Senecas, of whom the scattered remains are chiefly collected at an Indian village near

Buffalo, continue obstinately to oppose all attempts to evangelize them. A New York newspaper states, that at a Council fire held in the Spring of 1819, they solemnly resolved not to encourage the introduction of Christianity among them; thereby, in effect, 'signing their own death warrant.' It is added: 'This remnant of the Five Nations will not exist much longer; no nations ever decreased with so much rapidity.' 'The renovating influence of the Christian religion,' remarks Mr. Duncan, 'would yet have saved them from extinction; but this effectual and only remedy they spurn from them, and soon will it be with them "as a tale that is told."' The tract concludes with a pressing appeal to the Christian reader, on behalf of the missionary cause, which, we hope, will not be unavailing.

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Art. VIII. *Hints on the Sources of Happiness.* Addressed to her Children by a Mother, Author of "Always Happy," &c. 12mo. 2 vols. pp. 680. London. 1819.

IT would be in the highest degree uncandid, to withhold praise from the intentions which dictated the present work. But the plea of maternal anxiety, as the motive to the undertaking, can avail only thus far, to make us respect the amiable character of the mother, while we examine the more doubtful claims of the Author.

Had the Writer, instead of setting herself to establish a theory, been content to suggest such practical hints on the sources of happiness as might have directed her readers to the diligent improvement of the actual means of enjoyment, it is possible, that she might have produced a useful and lively work. But she has fallen into the same error as a learned Divine did before her, whose treatise on Human Happiness, fell some years ago under our notice:\* She has thought it requisite, in order to vindicate the ways of God to man, and the best means also of making her children happy, to shew that the unhappiness of mankind is a *grand mistake*; that men are not so unhappy as they imagine they feel themselves to be; that, at all events, they have no occasion to be unhappy, for 'there are but two causes for *rational* sorrow,—the death of friends, and the consciousness of guilt;—of which two evils, 'the former has its consolations, and the latter its benefits;' and that 'three fourths of those who grieve, do so without adequate cause, or from causes distinct from *fate*.' To which is gravely added, that, 'when misery is not chimerical, it is either produced by ourselves or our fellow-creatures,'—for instance, by their dying! The process of reasoning by which these several propositions are established, introduce the discovery (p. 36) of 'another valuable fact;—

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\* Eclectic Review, N.S. Vol. I. pp. 545.

'That as that medium, virtue, is attainable to all ranks and degrees of intellect and fortune, so also is happiness within the reach of all. A conclusion perfectly compatible with all that reason and religion inculcates, and beautifully in unison with the *known justice* of a superintending Providence.'

We wonder what would be the effect upon this good lady's ideas of the *known justice* of Providence, as resting upon the equal distribution of the means of virtue and happiness, were she suddenly to find herself transported to the scene of missionary exertions among the Hindoos. Probably, she regards as very unnecessary, the great stir which is made about the conversion of those amiable idolaters. What cause for '*rational sorrow*' can they have, since their minds are undisturbed by the 'consciousness of guilt,' and they are actually found assisting in the death of their relatives with the most obliging alacrity?

But the glaring absurdity of these statements, does not form the ground of so serious a charge against the Writer, as the dangerous tendency of her notions of morality.

'In a general sense, we must,' she says, 'be permitted to estimate actions as they receive the approbation or reprehension of our fellow-creatures. How otherwise can we rate them?'

Scripture represents the praise of God and the praise of man as at variance, so that things which are in high esteem among men, are an abomination to Him.\* But of the assistance of Scripture, the Writer has not thought it necessary to avail herself. She quotes David Hume; and so, strange to tell, she does Hannah More. She quotes, too, a Dr. Gregory, we know not what Dr. Gregory, as advancing the assertion, that 'To affirm that God *cannot* dispense with his own prescience, is to say, that God is not omnipotent.' The confusion of ideas in this string of words, we should be loath to charge on any author of respectability. But the length and breadth of the present Writer's religious sentiments, are more unequivocally exhibited in the concluding chapter, where she closes her remarks on religion, with the '*creed*' of 'the ingenious and amiable Dr. Franklin,' who has left behind him the assurance that the system of morals and religion taught by Jesus of Nazareth, had his decided approbation.

We cannot refrain from adding one hint on the sources of happiness, which we wish might be impressed on all the readers into whose hands these volumes may fall: in the old-fashioned work we have already alluded to, one of the sacred penmen says, "I have more understanding than all my *teachers*, for *thy* testimonies are my meditation."

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\* On this subject, the Writer might be advantageously referred to an admirable sermon in Dr. Chalmers's last volume.



Art. IX. *A Letter to the Right Hon. Charles B. Bathurst, M. P. on the Subject of the Poor Laws.* By Richard Blakemore, Esq. 8vo. pp. 34. London, 1819.

**T**HE Writer of this Letter was one of the gentlemen deputed by the iron trade of South Wales, to oppose the Poor Law Settlement Bill, when pending in Parliament. He is also, it appears, a magistrate. The suggestions of every respectable individual of this rank in society, are to be invited, and they claim attention.

Mr. Blakemore represents, that by far the greater part of the litigations respecting Settlements, would be obviated, were the magistrate, instead of granting an order for removal, on the *ex parte* statement of the parish officer,—from which order, the parish to which the pauper is adjudged, can obtain relief only by appeal to the quarter sessions,—to transmit notice of the application for removal, to the pauper's supposed parish, and, in case of dispute, to have their appeal, and the evidence upon which it rests, laid before him, before the order is made final. 'Upon the painful dilemma in which magistrates are placed, in making an order final upon hearing only one half of the evidence, I may appeal,' says the Writer, 'to the experience of nearly every magistrate in the kingdom.'

Another suggestion relates to the deficiency of the security which the public at present possess, that the money professedly raised for the relief of the poor, is duly and rigidly applied to its legitimate object. Mr. B. contends, that, upon this subject, there has existed 'the most unaccountable, the most culpable remissness,' to which is attributable in a considerable degree, 'the dreadful extension of pauperism.' The provisions of the several statutes respecting parish accounts, he remarks, are found, in practice, to be useless and inoperative.

'The cause whereof, I think, may be traced to these funds having always been considered as of a private character; and to the presumption that, the parish in which they are paid having alone to do with their appropriation, as it is the interest, so it will be the practice of some individuals in it, to be vigilant in regulating the expenditure: but we too well know how parish business is conducted to admit this conclusion. Every day's experience shews, that what is the business of every body, is the business of nobody; and in every parish there are besides numerous individuals who pay to the rates, and are incapacitated, or otherwise prevented from interfering in their appropriation. The principle I therefore wish to introduce is, that not only the parish but the public at large also are interested in the expenditure of this money; and then it will follow, that such method and arrangement must be introduced into the accounts, they must be subjected to the same publicity and scrutiny, and ultimately to the same

parliamentary control as exists in respect to all other branches of our public expenditure.'

But the leading suggestion of the present Writer, is of a more startling nature. It is no other than this, that relief shall be given to the pauper only as a loan redeemable by actual labour; that it shall constitute a debt to the public, for which the public, that is, as it should seem, the State, may demand an equivalent in civil or military service; that the pauper shall sell to the State, or to the parish as the agent of the State, a certain portion of his freedom for so much bread and cheese, unless he can, within, as we imagine, a specified time, repay the amount of the relief which has been advanced to him. What is to become of his family, if he has any, while he is serving out the period of his slavery, Mr. B. does not mention. And there are other difficulties in the way of the scheme, of which he takes as little notice. The idea appears to have been borrowed from the policy of a celebrated Oriental statesman, named Zaphnath-paaneah, who, when the people had given all their money and all their herds, and had nought left but their bodies and their lands to sell for bread, bought both the men and their fields for Pharaoh, and removed the people to cities from one border of the country to the other; so, they were Pharaoh's servants. The State, however, has at present quite as many servants as it knows how to feed, leaving pay out of the question. Since, therefore, this new army of pauper borrowers must eat while they work out their debt, we do not see how the public would be much benefited by the proposed measure. We quite participate in Mr. Blakemore's indignation at *sinecurists*; but we cannot agree with him in regarding the poor in this light. 'The pensioners, placemen, and sinecurists,' he says, 'who really eat up the vitals of the State, are those who abusively partake of the eight millions a year raised for poor rates, upon the industry and tenantry of the country.' How a poor man who works hard all the six days for half the proper wages of labour, and has it made up to him 12s. a week out of the poor rate, can be styled a placeman or a *sinecurist*, we leave Mr. Blakemore to explain, and our readers to judge.

Art. X. *A Letter to the Right Hon. J. C. Villiers, on the Education of the Natives of India*: to which are added, an Account of Hindoo Widows, recently burnt alive in Bengal; and also some Extracts from the Reports of the Native Schools, published by the Serampore Missionaries. By William Ward, of Serampore, Bengal. 8vo. pp. 35. London, 1820.

‘**I**T cannot be affirmed,’ says Mr. Ward, ‘that schools are few in India: schools are in fact numerous; but to expand the minds of the young, or to give them the elements of knowledge, is no part of the plan of these schools.’ ‘Not a single book on morals, on the duties of creatures towards each other, or to their Creator, is to be found in any of the common schools throughout India.’ And even from these schools, such as they are, females are altogether excluded. The Hindoo female is forbidden all education, and has no means of sufficient employment. The total extinction of the moral sense, is the necessary consequence of this rayless ignorance. Mr. Ward affirms that ‘falsehood is so common,’ that he ‘never knew a Hindoo who felt the least scruple on this head;’ that perjury may be purchased at whatever price is offered, the false swearer being familiarly termed ‘a four anas (eightpenny) man;’ and that no man in India confides in the promises of another. Mendicity in its most loathsome form, superstition the most abject, universal licentiousness, infanticide, and suicide, compose the picture which, from personal observation, Mr. Ward exhibits, of the present state of Hindoo society.

And yet, he says, ‘I doubt not but the Hindoos, if the appetite for knowledge were supplied with food in due proportions, would become in mental stature almost equal to Britons themselves.’ The wretched females, too, he pronounces to be ‘quite capable of the highest cultivation.’

‘Notwithstanding the immense disadvantages to which the female sex is subject, there exist two or three modern instances of mendicants or pilgrims of this sex, acquiring the Shanscrit, and instructing the men in the most abstruse parts of the Hindoo philosophy. Nor can I doubt but that if English females could be persuaded to live in India, and devote their lives to the improvement of their own sex there, schools for girls might easily be obtained, till at length the prejudices of the natives against female education would be removed, and the many millions of females in India, thus raised from the most abject state by the exertions of British females, would assist in raising, and improving, and solacing the other sex, and fixing in their hearts the love of the British government and of the English nation, so as to attach them to us for ever.’

The object to which Mr. Ward wishes to direct the benevolent exertions of the British public, is, ‘the instruction of the



'Hindoos in such branches of knowledge, civil, natural, and 'moral, *as may be grafted upon their existing institutions.*' He thinks it very practicable to excite among them the love of knowledge, so as to induce the natives themselves to establish schools, in which the books of science and general knowledge which shall have been introduced among them, will be multiplied and diffused all over the country. 'The whole country,' he affirms, 'would go into an improved system of education.'

'Schools set up by the English, are very popular; and nothing can be more easy than to give them all the elements of modern science, and all the transforming ideas of that morality which has been communicated to us through the Sacred Scriptures. People are seldom so thankful for any thing as for knowledge. A Hindoo is taught to reverence his teacher more than his parents.'

Any attempt, however, to instruct the whole population *through the English language*, Mr. Ward contends, would be highly pernicious.

'If it be ideas which we want to communicate to the people of India, then, this object can never be obtained but by transfusing European knowledge into the languages with which they are familiar.' 'Give but a taste of the value of knowledge to India, and then she herself will carry on the work begun.'

We are rejoiced to gather from this interesting 'Letter' of the estimable Missionary, that it is in contemplation to form, in this metropolis, a Society for the Improvement of India. The claims of sixty millions of our fellow-subjects, loudly call upon the British public for the most active concurrence in giving to such a plan an efficiency commensurate to its grand and important design.

Some interesting extracts from the reports of the native schools instituted by the Serampore Missionaries, are given in an appendix. The Reports themselves, it is stated, may be had gratuitously, on application to Messrs. Black, Kingsbury, and Co. of Leadenhall Street.

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Art. XI. *Sacred Lyrics*. By James Edmeston, foolscap 8vo. pp. 59, Price 4s. London, 1820.

**D**R. Johnson's remark, that all devotional poetry is 'unsatisfactory,' inasmuch as 'the paucity of the topics enforces perpetual repetition, and the sanctity of the matter rejects the ornaments of figurative diction,'—has, like most of the general remarks of that great dogmatist, a foundation in truth; there is no species of poetry in which excellence is so rarely obtained. Few persons, however, who are conversant with the additions made to our devotional poetry since the days of Watts,

will be disposed to subscribe to the sweeping position as it stands, which would seem to intimate that the spirit of poetry is almost incapable of combining with devotion. We would not adduce the languishing sentimental devotion of Mr. Thomas Moore's sacred melodies, nor my Lord Byron's Hebrew melodies, as invalidating the Doctor's remark; other and worthier names will occur to our readers: not to speak of Herbert, and we should not be ashamed to add the name of Quarles, it were sufficient to mention Cowper, Charles Wesley, and Montgomery, as authors whose devotional poetry is the very reverse of unsatisfactory. Our present business lies, however, with these sacred lyrics, of which it would not perhaps be saying too much, were we to venture the opinion, that they might be held sufficient proof, that the topics of devotion do not reject the diction of poetry. Our readers shall judge for themselves.

## V.

' I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day.—REV. i. 10.

' Is there a time when moments flow  
More lovelily than all beside;  
It is, of all the times below,  
A sabbath eve in summer tide.

' Oh then the setting sun smiles fair,  
And all below, and all above,  
The different forms of nature wear  
One universal garb of Love.

' And then the peace that Jesus beams,  
The life of Grace, the death of Sin,  
With Nature's placid woods and streams,  
Is peace without and peace within.

' Delightful scene—a world at rest.—  
A God all love—no grief nor fear—  
A heavenly hope—a peaceful breast,—  
A smile unsullied by a tear!

' If heaven be ever felt below,  
A scene so heavenly sure as this,  
May cause a heart on earth, to know  
Some foretaste of celestial bliss.

' Delightful hour—how soon will Night,  
Spread her dark mantle o'er thy reign,  
And morrow's quick returning light,  
Must call us to the world again.

' Yet will there dawn at last, a day—  
A sun that never sets shall rise;  
Night will not veil his ceaseless ray!  
The heavenly sabbath never dies!' pp. 7, 8.

## ART. XII. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

•• *Gentlemen and Publishers who have works in the press, will oblige the Conductors of the ECLECTIC REVIEW, by sending information (post paid) of the subject, extent, and probable price of such works; which they may depend upon being communicated to the public, if consistent with its plan.*

Mr. Foster, author of *Essays on Decision of Character, &c.* has in the press, and will publish in a few weeks, an *Essay on the Evils of Popular Ignorance*, in an octavo volume.

Mr. Philip, of Liverpool, is preparing a new life of *Whitefield*, the materials of which have been collected from various British and American sources.

Mr. Wm. Turner has in the press, in three octavo volumes, a *Journal of a Tour in Greece, Egypt, and the Holy Land*; with excursions to the river Jordan, and along the banks of the Red Sea to Mount Sinai.

Dr. Baron will soon publish in quarto, with engravings, illustrations of some parts of his *Inquiry respecting the Origin of Tubercles and Tumours*.

Mr. G. E. Shuttleworth has in the press, *Remarks on the Church and the Clergy*, exhibiting the obligations of society, literature, and the arts, to the ecclesiastical orders.

Mr. Leigh Hunt will soon publish a translation of *Tasso's Amyntas*, with an *Essay on the Pastoral Poetry of Italy*.

A new Edition of *Dr. Bissett's History of the Reign of George the Third*, continued to his death, is in considerable forwardness.

The Second Edition of *Dr. Aikin's Annals of the Reign of George the Third*, brought down to the time of his death, is expected in the course of a month.

Mr. Nichols is preparing for publication, a Fourth Volume of *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*.

Mr. James Kenney will soon publish, in octavo, *Valdi, or the Libertine's Son*, a poem, in five parts.

*The Monastery*, a romance, in three volumes, by the author of *Waverley, &c.* is in the press.

James Tyson, esq. has in the press, *Elements of the History of Civil Governments*, with an account of the pre-

sent state and distinguishing features of the governments now in existence.

James Adairson, esq. has in the press, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Louis de Camoens*, in two octavo volumes, with nine engravings.

Mr. Robert Walpole is printing in a quarto volume, with plates, *Travels in various Countries of the East*, being a continuation of *Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey*.

To be published by subscription, *The Christian Family Assistant*, in four Parts; Containing, 1st. A Discourse on Prayer, in ten chapters, with Anecdotes and Observations from various Authors. 2nd. Suitable Forms of Prayer for Domestic Worship, original, and selected from the works of the most eminent Divines. 3d. A Hundred Hymns, peculiarly adapted to Family Devotion. 4th. An arranged List of suitable Portions of Scripture for Morning and Evening Worship, of every day in the year, with an Appendix, containing a Series of Essays on Domestic Duties, &c. By H. L. Poppewell. To which will be prefixed, an *Historical Essay on Prayer*. By Ingram Cobbin, A. M.

The Third and Fourth Volumes of *Scripture Portraits*, by the Rev. Robert Stevenson, of Castle Hedingham, are nearly ready for the Press, and will probably appear in the course of the ensuing Spring.

A New Edition of Mr. Jolliffe's interesting *Letters from Palestine*, descriptive of a tour through Gallilee and Judea, with some account of the Dead Sea and the present state of Jerusalem, with additions, is in the press, and will be ready in the course of the month.

In the press, *Memoirs of His late Majesty, Geo. III.* By John Brown, esq. Author of *The Northern Courts*.

The final volume of Mr. Morell's *Studies in History*, being the 2d of England, is now in the press, and will



be published next month : it will commence with the reign of James the First, and will be continued to the death of George III.

The Rev. J. Gilbert, of Dublin, has in the press, and will shortly publish, *A Series of Connected Lectures on the Holy Bible*, illustrative and confirmatory of its character, as an economy of Religion instituted and revealed by God, for man.

The Rev. Mr. Clarke, author of the *Wandering Jew*, has in the press, *The History of the Zodians*, a fictitious narrative, designed to illustrate the natural origin of public institutions.

R. Ackermann proposes to publish, in six monthly parts, (part I. to appear on the 1st of May, 1820,) *Picturesque illustrations of Buenos Ayres, and Monte Video*, consisting of 24 Views, and faithful Representations of the Costumes, Manners, &c. of the Inhabitants of those Cities and their Environs, taken on the spot, by E. E.

Vidal, Esq. and accompanied with descriptive letter-press.

Nearly ready for publication, a *Picturesque Tour from Geneva, over Mount Simplon, to Milan*, in one Volume, imperial 8vo. This work, which cannot fail to claim the particular attention of the continental traveller, will contain 36 coloured engravings, of the most interesting scenery in that romantic tract, and especially the most striking points of view in the new road over the Simplon. The engravings will be accompanied with copious historical and descriptive particulars respecting every remarkable object along the route.

Likewise, in great forwardness, at the Lithographic press, *A Series of characteristic Portraits of the Cossacks attached to the Russian Army, which occupied Paris in 1815, and 16*; with ample details of the history, manners, and customs of the different tribes to which they belonged. This will also form an imperial 8vo. Volume.

### ART. XIII. LIST OF WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

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*An Essay on the Management of Hedges and Hedge-row Timber.* By Francis Blaikie, Steward and Agent to W. T. Coke, Esq. 2s.

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#### ERRATA IN THE LAST NUMBER.

Page 190 line 16 *for* prescribe *read* proscribe.

193 — 5 from bottom, *for* inadmissible *read* inamissible.

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